

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

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any group of young people.

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## Editor's Page

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### Democracy Is Stronger—If Only We Knew It

THE new element—half material, half psychological—which has added unexpected forms to our political and international struggles is propaganda. Never in history had publicity become such a determining weapon. It is through the technical perfection achieved by political publicity that the invention of a bolshevist Spain (which never existed) induced the leading classes of two proud and old nations, England and France, to accept almost gladly the first of their defeats—the Nazi-Fascist invasion of Spain. It is through the same method that French and British high circles were brought to applaud as a victory their second defeat—the Munich agreement.

One realizes how important it has been that the first of European dictators has been a newspaper-man; only one thing he knew, but he knew it well; the publicity part of his profession. It is this man that first discovered the basic maxim of Totalitarianism

in this standardized world of ours: "A lie is a lie when it is timidly expressed, a lie remains sometimes a lie when it is repeated only a hundred times; a lie always becomes a truth when it is repeated thousands of times."

The applications of this principle have been wonderful, even in this country; for instance, when some honest Americans have been induced to believe and to say that the dictatorial regimes have serious popular backing in their own countries.

If it is so, one wonders why dictators do not give freedom of opinion to their press and freedom of vote to their subjects, and why they have suppressed even fake elections for civic magistrates so dear to the hearts of the Italians since the thirteenth century; why, in Germany, the pick of the Nazi youth are taken away from their families, trained in special mysterious schools and, renouncing all ties of blood and kin, brought up in blind devotion to a supposedly infallible Führer—with not a single thought of their own.

The dictators shout their confidence in their blinded masses; in reality they are not so sure. They shout because they are afraid. Is it not a fact that as soon as hundreds of thousands of Italians have been let out of the great Fascist prison, they have shown their minds, in Albania and Greece, by refusing to fight against a small nation whose freedom had been dear to our Italian fathers? Indeed, not only had the poets of our Risorgimento sung, like Byron, the independence of Greece, but many heroic Italian volunteers went all through the nineteenth century to fight and die for

This statement by Count Carlo Sforza was originally an address in the American Faith Series, delivered to the student body of Union College and subsequently broadcast over WGY, Schenectady. Count Sforza, exiled former Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Italy, was Carnegie Visiting Professor of International Relations at Union College during the fall semester.

Hellenic independence, which means for the same ideals that inspired the six hundred thousand Italians who gave their lives for a free Italy in the first World War.

I have been with them; I know what they thought. They hoped to make democracy safe for Italy, for the world.

We were wrong, all of us, if we thought that Democracy is a stable place to reach and to live in, comfortably. The truth is just the contrary. Democracy is a constant creation which each generation must deserve and fight for. Democracy is in front of us, not behind us, even for America. That is why no desertions, no defeats, no disasters prove anything.

**B**UT have we really been confronted by essential defeats and disasters of Democracy?

Many pragmatists believe so, and some of them already bow a smiling approval to prospective masters of tomorrow. In reality, even contemporary European history, tragic as it is, proves that they are wrong. Why? Because the only conclusive argument against Democracy would be the existence of some free nation having been converted to accept Totalitarianism. No such nation exists. It is only through violence that they have been subjected to Totalitarianism, all of them: Russia, Italy, Germany, Spain, France.

I alluded already to Italy; but what of France, a subsequent victim of dictators and traitors? I have lived in France most of the last three years, and I may assure you that the immense majority of the French think only of the day when they will get rid of invaders and of would-be dictators.

Today, the dictators—inventing a new psychological trick—try to make us believe that they are creating a “new order” in Europe, a new economic order which the Fifth Columns might hail as an improvement on the Europe of yesterday, stupidly divided by customs walls and by national hatreds. But the truth is that although this

time propaganda and Fifth Columns may rely on blood and terror, there is not one example of any nation wishing to participate in the newly advertised Nazi “order.” All the peoples of Europe refuse to join a system based on hatred of Democracy. When it happens, as now in France, that certain leaders declare themselves ready to collaborate with Nazism, all their compatriots know what they are—traitors. But the dictators have won so many victories through propaganda—from the conquest of Spain to the invasion of France—that they still continue in all the democratic countries their constant secret work of demoralization.

This work takes the most varied forms, as when, in this country, an exquisite master of English style, misled by sentimental emotions, shows in Totalitarianism one of the “Waves of the Future,” one of the new political philosophies which the free nations should try to understand. No, Nazism and Fascism have no philosophy; they are based on pragmatic theories which change from day to day—as their crusades against Stalin and their successive alliances with Stalin should prove to everybody. Opportunity, gangsterism, systematic cheating will never form a philosophy.

**A**MERICAN Democracy has in its bosom a more dangerous enemy than writers ready to compromise with dictators. This enemy is Complacency. Complacency is almost as dangerous as Fifth Columnism. To take only one example, learned economists begin to whisper that, after all, Totalitarianism, once master of Europe, would be so busy in organizing the old world that the United States would have all the time it needs to become supreme in this new hemisphere, from Canada to Patagonia.

It is not so, simply because history is mainly made by passions, not by interests—a thing certain economists rarely understand.

Those who believe that a victorious totalitarianism would not undertake to im-



pose itself on this continent do not realize that for the dictators it is a question of life and death to have all the great democracies destroyed, all of them.

The dictators would never feel safe as long as the enslaved nations—Italians and French, Dutch, Belgians and Norwegians, Spaniards and Czechs—were able to point to a great country where democracy is more or less prosperous. In the dictators' eyes the worst crime of a democracy is merely the fact of existing, of existing in an atmosphere of freedom.

But, on the other hand, a great democracy is not worthy of her past, not worthy of her future, if she does not realize an old law of history, and a new one.

The new law is: there is no more place for isolation in a world, all the parts of which become more and more interdependent; just as there is no place for a free nation in a world of slaves.

The old law is: the riches, the gold, the economic possibilities of a powerful nation may become instruments of decadence, of intellectual and political decadence (as has happened with great empires like Rome and Venice), if they are not constantly used in the service of the ideals that first made the moral greatness of the nation.

CARLO SFORZA

### Latin-American History

THERE is every reason why Latin-American history should be taught in all of the high schools in the country, especially now. Twenty-five years ago there was practically no interest in Latin America, but today it has greatly increased, and as long as the war goes on in Europe there is need for it because we have nowhere else to travel. Also our trade with Latin America has increased considerably and *should* increase more. Before we can achieve these results, however, we must know something about these people, and we as Americans are not very eager to learn about them because they are very different from us. We enjoy Europe, especially west-

ern Europe, because their ways are much like ours and they cater to our tastes.

Today an increase in interest in the Latin-American nations is more hopeful. For some twenty years I have been trying to get a semester course in Latin-American history to go. I had the permission of the administration to give it; the trouble was to get the class. Until two years ago I was able to get only one average-size class each year for one semester. The last two years there has been registered a good-sized class each semester of each year.

Also, calls are now received for women's clubs and other organizations for speakers on some phase of Latin America, chiefly concerning Mexico. Then, too, Secretary of State Hull has called so much attention to Latin America by trying to establish better relations with them under the title of the "Good Neighbor Policy," ever since he took up his office some eight years ago. Secretary Hull has gone so far as to establish a Bureau of Cultural Relations with Latin America in the State Department, which indicates the importance given to this subject by the above department. This bureau has started several enterprises and encouraged others already started for the purpose of making the *Americas*, North and South, to understand each others' political, economic, and social ideas.

STUDENTS are much more interested in Latin-American classes. One remaining difficulty is to find teachers who have had work in the universities in this field. The universities are, however, turning attention to it more and more, which is assisting to fill this need for trained teachers. Another difficulty is usable textbooks on Latin America. There is no good one as yet on the high school level. There are some good ones in the college field. There is also much more magazine material than formerly. However, much of this material is superficial, and the readers should have, for intelligent understanding of it, a *good* background in history.

We do not understand the Latin-American people; neither do they understand us. It is utterly inconceivable to a Spanish father and mother of good social standing in the nations of Latin America that their fourteen-year-old daughter should go alone on the streets. They think we are very neglectful; we think they are funny. Hundreds of attitudes toward events, or incidents of daily life could be mentioned, illustrating that point.

It is to be hoped that the Good Neighbor Policy so effectively advocated by Secretary Hull will be successful, but it will take a great deal of understanding and patience on the part of both the people of the United States and of the nations to the south. We need to approach them with an attitude of equality, not superiority as we are so apt to do; and, when one studies their history, their ideas, their philosophy and customs, one finds there is much to admire in them. Yet their methods of doing business are different, the basic ideas of their social life are different. They use the form of our government but to us, at least, they are far from following its ideals. They have dictators and have had all the hundred years of their independence, but they are not the same as the dictators rampant in Europe.

**T**HE idea, of which the Good Neighbor Policy is the first broad expression, that the nations in the Western Hemisphere should live together in permanent peace is a glorious one and one which we hope can be achieved. However, we of the Northern Hemisphere will have to do a great deal of reading and studying about these people and will have to learn their language, for ideas spoken in one language and translated into another do not always mean the same to the listener. It works both ways. To achieve this purpose we can not have too much Latin-American history, taught by well-informed teachers who themselves understand the people of Latin America, offered in our high schools. The same can be

said of the Spanish language, for it has long been known that we often have been very crude in our diplomacy, and sometimes have made sad mistakes because our ministers and ambassadors could not even speak the language of the nation to which they were accredited.

Now the tide of travel is turning to these countries. Latin-Americans are, however, very sensitive people and the tourists, knowing nothing of their language and their customs, can greatly check the development of the Good Neighbor Policy and might even cause it to stop. We talk so much about educating the young people to fit the community and times in which they live. Here is an opportunity.

LAURA F. ULLRICK

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### The N.A.M. Restates Its Policy

**O**N April 3 the National Association of Manufacturers released a statement offering to "cooperate with teachers at any time" to insure that the abstracts prepared recently for the N.A.M. by Dr. Ralph W. Robey of Columbia University are used in a manner 'which fully protects authors and school authorities.'

The release reprints a long letter sent by Walter D. Fuller, president of the N.A.M., sent to 38,000 social science teachers and 10,000 school officials throughout the country, in which Mr. Fuller asserted the confidence of the N.A.M. in American teachers, regretted the distorted impressions of the project that have been given wide currency, and asserted that from the beginning the N.A.M. "believed that the issue of 'subversiveness in textbooks was being immensely exaggerated.'" The letter regrets that Dr. Robey's statement, issued without the knowledge of the N.A.M., has been interpreted as a statement of N.A.M. views. Though perhaps somewhat belated, the statement should do much to reduce the unfortunate results of earlier announcements and comment.

# Military History and the Social Studies

Edgar B. Wesley

MILITARY history has steadily declined in popularity. Since 1875 the amount of space devoted to it in textbooks has diminished until it has almost reached the vanishing point. Outlines of wars, names of battles, statistics of combatants and losses, and elements of strategy once loomed large in the textbooks. The treatment was catalogic and moralistic. It justly awakened the scorn of teachers and the opposition of peace societies. As the concept of history broadened and as these forces of criticism and opposition became effective, the amount of space began to diminish. And now that military history has been minimized almost to the point of total elimination, some teachers and civic workers are wondering whether they should rejoice over the achievement or question the wisdom of the whole movement.

War has been and remains too large a factor in world affairs to justify an ostrich-

like attitude on the part of social studies teachers. The deliberate minimizing or neglect of an evil does not necessarily result in either its extinction or its improvement. It should now be apparent to the most pacifistic, anti-chauvinistic teacher that the minimizing of war has not produced the results which the peace societies visualized. This article is a plea, not for the restoration of the magniloquent and vainglorious catalog of battles, generals, and victories, but for a reconsideration of the whole question of the nature of military history and its proper place in our schools. If defense policy is to remain forever subordinate to civil policy, as it should, it is indispensable that civilians know something of military history.

## PRESENT TREATMENT

BEFORE considering a program for the expansion and vitalizing of military history, let us be clear as to the present treatment of war in contemporary textbooks. Courses of study, fusion courses, and units deserve no consideration here, for they either parallel textbooks or ignore military history altogether. The "progressive" school does not teach units on "The Citizen as a Soldier" or "The Army as the Defender of American Ideals." Almost without exception the authors of textbooks try (1) to give some explanation of the causes of wars, (2) to outline or summarize the main campaigns, battles, or policies of the war, and (3) to describe and appraise the results. In general, textbook authors are self-conscious and seem to feel that, in dealing with war, they are concerned with *moral* issues. The objectivity which characterizes their treat-

The author of this article is a professor of education at the University of Minnesota. He has contributed frequently to the teaching of the social studies and has written a well-known book on that subject. This article, however, shows his interest in another field. He is the author of *Guarding the Frontier: A Study of Frontier Defense from 1815 to 1825* (University of Minnesota Press, 1935) and has contributed to the *Journal of the American Military Institute*, of which he is a member.



ment of politics, industry, and culture seems to be replaced by a cautious and righteous attitude. The costs of wars in life and property are presented in unctuous tones. They clearly disapprove the whole performance. In dealing with battles, generals, and strategy some authors seem to feel that they must demonstrate their patriotism. They thus tend to minimize our national errors, obscure our military failures, bestow halos upon mediocrities, exaggerate our achievements, and belittle and underestimate our enemies. Military writers lament this attitude, for it leads to complacency, overconfidence, repetitions of errors, and the perpetuation of the idea that civilians have no responsibility for the formulation of defense policies.

It is thus apparent, if the foregoing analysis is sound, that textbooks are none too successful in dealing with the rather restricted aspects of war which they do undertake to treat. The fundamental error arises from the attempt to isolate war, military policy, and all things military from the rest of life. The existence of these evil aspects is not denied, but they are segregated from other actualities. Military history is thus given an altogether too restricted and too literal interpretation. "The killed, wounded, and taken-prisoners" sort of catalog is sterile, but war involves more than battles.

#### THE BROADER ASPECTS

LET us list and describe a few of the connotations which might well be considered as aspects or sub-divisions of a broadened concept of military history. It will thus become evident that the subject can become more than merely a record of battles, campaigns, causes, results, and treaties.

1. Military history should be viewed in its proper perspective as a part of social as well as of political history. The army and navy are not always fighting battles, but they are always in existence and so exert influences and have effects upon our national

life far beyond the sphere of their military duties. The cultural contributions of the military are numerous and varied. The effects of war upon our songs, poetry, and novels can scarcely be cataloged; the effects of the military dress upon our fashions, both masculine and feminine, are obvious to all who see pictures or read advertisements; our national vocabulary has been invigorated and colored by repeated infusions of words and phrases carried back from the battle front; military amusements, customs, and manners have constantly been infused into civilian life. The army and navy have dredged rivers and harbors, built forts and fortifications, cut roads, surveyed boundary lines, protected settlers, and blazed frontier trails. In addition to their major purpose of defense, the army and navy have made innumerable contributions to civilian life. The members of the defense arms have been neighbors, husbands, consumers, and citizens, and even in their organized capacity they should still be regarded as everyday Americans.

2. Military history should be so studied and taught as to include not only the army, navy, and air forces but also the militia, the volunteers, and the drafted men. The standing army is only the most obvious and continuous arm of defense; the others are just as vital, and in many ways, even more important historically. The little bands of soldiers who escorted the Santa Fe traders, the Indian agents, the railroad surveyors, and the explorers were performing work that was essentially more than military. The men who rushed to fight the Seminoles, to capture Mexico City, to join the army in Cuba or Panama were indeed military men, but their achievements were cultural and economic as well as military. The words army and navy should therefore be broadly conceived and liberally interpreted. The line of demarcation between civil and military is not and should not always be clearly marked.

3. While the constitutional and legal as-



pects of the defense arms are fairly clearly defined, the fundamental issue of civil control has probably been inadequately stressed in our histories. One of the fundamental tenets of all democracies, and especially of American democracy, is the complete supremacy of the civil over the military. The Constitution clearly provides for this supremacy, and the preservation of civil liberties demands its perpetuation. In general, military men concede that the determination of defense policies is the responsibility of Congress and the President, that their function is to advise and then to carry out the policy which is adopted. Nevertheless, it behooves the citizens of a democracy to keep this issue clear, for the actual maintenance of civil control involves eternal vigilance. Social studies teachers, and particularly those teaching government and history, have numerous occasions to witness this struggle. The struggle itself is unrecognized by some teachers and its significance is probably hidden from an even larger number.

The Senate committee set up in 1861 "to inquire into the conduct of the present war," the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the use of troops in labor disputes, and the constantly expanding scope and frequency of the application of martial law are examples of the issue of civil supremacy that probably deserve more consideration than they usually receive. The status of the Secretary of War, the civil rights of soldiers, and the civil responsibilities of army officers are by no means clear-cut and settled issues. While such issues are outside the narrow interpretation of military history, they become pertinent because of the existence of armies and navies.

4. Perhaps the most continuous and promising single thread through the whole field of military history is that of military policy. Ignorance of the history of military policy causes the student of history to regard each war with its military blunders and its wasteful developments as a totally

new and inexplicable occurrence, whereas a long range view of the military and naval policy of a country usually shows why its wars turn out as they do. Why did the United States establish a standing army? Why has it grown so slowly? On what theories has our maintenance of a small army been based? Have we relied upon the British navy or upon the width of the Atlantic ocean? What relationships have existed between our defense policies and our foreign policies? Have they been co-ordinated? All will agree that an army or a navy without a policy to control and direct it is an unnecessary luxury, and most will agree that a policy without a force to sustain it is futile.

Teachers should try to envision the whole picture of our defense policies. So far they have not had a chance to even glimpse them in either our high school or college textbooks, and no very convenient summary of them exists anywhere. The evolution of war from a contest between two small bands of hired men, to a life and death struggle between two contending armies, to a struggle between the whole manpower of one country with the whole manpower of another, to the idea of a whole people versus a whole people, up to the prevailing idea of resources against resources constitutes a vital theme and furnishes a coherent thread for organizing, not only military, but social and political history. In fact it now appears that war involves not only a struggle of men against men but of skill against skill, resources against resources, and ideas against ideas. War seems to have engulfed every possible phase of life and to have drafted every possible element.

We are witnessing these momentous changes, but most of us, because of our ignorance of previous policies, are unprepared to understand that which we see. The story of defense policies within our own country, however, would involve no such climactic result as has been indicated here. It would in fact be a rather simple story of

trial and error, easily within the grasp of high school pupils. It should be told.

5. Even in the heyday of its popularity in the schools, military history never included the history of either the army or the navy. This was a curious oversight from a pedagogical viewpoint, for such a story would have been easy, colorful, and interesting. The size and distribution of the armed forces and of the naval vessels would have been intelligible facts, and their activities would have added materials for fostering national pride and confidence. Few teachers could draw an even approximately correct graph, showing the changes in the size of either the army or the navy. Because of its recency the growth of the air force is somewhat more familiar. The history of the army, for example, is an interesting and significant story. Its rise from "eighty guards" in 1783 to more than a million and a half men in 1941 is a story that parallels other developments in America and throws light on politics, territorial expansion, imperialism, economics, and various other aspects of our national life. Would it be altogether unfitting to have brief units in Grade VII or VIII on "Our Army—Past and Present," "Our Navy—At Home and Abroad," and "Our Army in the Air"?

6. The army and the navy might well be viewed from another vantage point, that of organization and administration. Boards, committees, commissions, agencies, and administrations have become increasingly frequent and important. Merely as a picture of an administrative agency which expends millions of dollars annually, the army would make an interesting unit. The various branches and sub-divisions would reveal that the army faces real-life situations. The purchasing of supplies, the maintenance of recruiting centers, the transportation of men and equipment, the erection of quarters, and the evolution of policies would furnish a rather complicated but enlightening picture of our national activities, and a view of the unified control which over-

sees and manages these scattered details would constitute an interesting study in management and supervision. And possibly the machinery which controls all these elements should be brought to the prehension of the citizens who pay for it and in whose interests the whole system is maintained.

7. The educative activities of the armed forces could certainly be studied without detriment to the schools. In fact, the objectives, curriculum, and methods of the Army Industrial College in Washington constitute a clear and practicable example of educational endeavor which many schools could imitate to their benefit. The academies at West Point and Annapolis are only the two outstanding colleges in the defense areas. Thousands of post schools, libraries, evening classes, and other educational organizations have afforded training to successive generations of recruits. Advanced schools in aviation, artillery, coast defense, infantry, and other branches of the service testify to the educational activities of the army. Within recent years the army and the navy have established post-graduate schools where selected classes can study advanced problems of geography, procurement, strategy, tactics, policy, and resources. Whatever lessons these schools may have for civilians should be learned, and they deserve at least our understanding and encouragement.

8. Many examples of the interrelationships between the military and the civil could be cited and studied to advantage. Few teachers seem to be aware of the contribution of the army to the westward movement, yet it is a clearly demonstrable fact that the army was usually beyond the line of settlement. The soldier was the real frontiersman. The navy not only enabled the United States to expand beyond its contiguous areas, it was the vanguard of that expansion. Many examples of parallels between our foreign policy and our defense policies could be cited.

9. While the field of invention and me-

chanical improvement has evolved in response to many pressures and demands, clearly the military demands have had great influence. The history of firearms, cannon, fortifications, ship construction, explosives, gases, airships, and dozens of other military elements is largely the story of trying to meet the demands of new situations or to match the achievements of our enemies, actual or potential. The army and navy have furnished the momentum which brought thousands of inventions, and while wars have brought untold horror and suffering, they have also contributed to the development of sanitation and medical science.

#### MILITARY HISTORY IN EDUCATION

OTHER phases of military history could be cited. The study of tactics, strategy, and discipline, the charting of campaigns, a review of the problems of quartermasters, and dozens of other aspects could be listed. The major purpose here, however, is not to define the limits of military history but merely to indicate some aspects which come within the comprehension of high school students. In view of the fact that the students are the active citizens and potential soldiers of tomorrow it seems peculiarly desirable that they should know something of the military history of their own country. In a republic there can be no sharp separation of the citizen and the soldier. The citizen who hires a man to defend him will eventually be within that man's power. The citizen must defend himself.

The neglect of military history tends to perpetuate the isolation of the army and navy. We have too frequently regarded enlisted men as constituting a separate class, as men who are not quite citizens, as defenders of the country but at the same time as potential enemies of its fundamental

ideals. These confused ideas and attitudes are remnants of the seventeenth century when the army was used in England as the instrument of tyranny. A republic, however, should regard its army in a different light. Just as the child needs to be assured that the policeman is his friend, so it seems necessary to assure grown up citizens that their army belongs to them, that it is their agent and their instrument and subject to their control. A study of the achievements and functions of the army and navy will tend to bridge the gap, to democratize the military, and to assure the continued supremacy of the civil. The schools should not continue to neglect this necessary and desirable task of enlightenment. In the broad sense here described military history has never been even approached, much less taught, in our schools. If any military elements are to be taught at all, and it is inevitable that some will be, let us as teachers insist upon a broadened and functionalized concept of military history.

This article has urged the acceptance of a broadened concept of military history. It has suggested the expansion of some specific aspects of this story. Perhaps others equally valuable and interesting could be added. Only the suspicious will read into it any appeal for a recrudescence of national boasting, for return to the cataloging of wars, battles, and generals, or for a hysteria of flag-waving and anthem-singing. Teachers and pupils will profit from a realistic survey of our national defense. War is a reality. Armies, navies, and air fleets seem to be necessary. Those who believe that history helps us to understand the world will have to admit that military history, broadly conceived and honestly applied, will help us to understand the major activities of a majority of the countries of the world of 1941.



# The Contribution of Geography to the Social Studies

Preston E. James

THE essential elementary aspects of human society are those of time and space. It has long been recognized in theory that these two aspects can not in reality be separated: that history should be taught geographically, and that geography should be taught historically.

Yet the techniques involved in the search for new truth and in the presentation of the results of this search in either of these fields are such that specialized training is necessary before one can become an effective professional historian or geographer. Similarly, in the teaching of these subjects at any grade level real competence can be gained only by special training—the historian to learn how to teach students to think in terms of the time sequence or in terms of periods; the geographer to learn how to teach students to think in terms of location, or in terms of regions.

In addition to those subjects which treat the fundamental aspects of social science, a number of other fields of advanced study have made their appearance. Economics, sociology, anthropology, political science, and others all make use of both historical and geographical methods in addition to special techniques and procedures of their own.

This consideration of the indispensable contributions of geography to an understanding of our society was presented to the National Council for the Social Studies at Syracuse on November 22 by a professor of geography in the University of Michigan.

The fact that these other disciplines make use of both historical and geographical methods does not mean that there is no need for special training in the basic subjects. It means the opposite, for such training is all the more important since the historical and geographical methods are so widely used.

Experience in the integration of the social sciences may not be overlooked by those who wish to achieve an integrated social studies program for the schools.<sup>1</sup> In social studies as well as in social sciences the fundamental aspects are those of time and space, and any program which neglects either of these aspects can not be other than superficial, and, in the long run, unsatisfactory.

## THINKING IN TERMS OF LOCATION

ONE of the most important skills to be derived from special geographic training is the ability to sense the significance of location. Location is a factor in human affairs which, in our country, has been strangely and perhaps dangerously neglected. In contrast is the close attention given to geographical studies in Germany, especially to the studies in political geography in which the keen estimate of the elements of location has laid the foundation of the present successful German strategy.

Geographic training makes one conscious of the necessity of greater precision in locat-

<sup>1</sup> The term social science refers to a body of organized knowledge dealing with human society; the term social studies refers to the sector of the school curriculum which deals with the educational aspects of this body of knowledge.



ing things than is commonly required in other disciplines. Economists, for example, seldom show discontent with production figures which are computed for the state as a unit. To be specific, they find sufficient accuracy in figures which show what proportion of the oil and gas of the United States Texas produces. We may hope that a trained geographer, even if no other figures of oil and gas production were available, would insist on pointing out that oil and gas are not produced over the whole of the state of Texas, and that the oil and gas fields overlap the state border into neighboring states.

Training in geography develops consciousness of location—of the position of an isolated fact with reference to the pattern of all those things, physical and human, which combine to differentiate the face of the earth into regions. Training in history develops consciousness of period—of the trends and characteristics of certain divisions of the human time scale, and of the relation of an isolated event to the larger movement of events more or less contemporary.

**S**TUDIES of location can and should be approached from two directions. There is location with reference to the broader features of the earth's surface, and there is location with reference to one's immediate surroundings. The more adequate the teaching, the closer these two views of location can be brought together. From the wider view, the first need is to treat location with reference to the earth's major lineaments—the great climatic and vegetation divisions, and the major relief features of the earth's surface. The trained geographer, for example, is not content with such a vague climatic location as implied by the obsolete term "Temperate Zone." Long ago the Arab geographers showed that the simple zonal arrangements set forth by the Greeks was an inadequate generalization of the world's climates. The climates are arranged symmetrically with reference to the poles

and also with reference to the land masses, so that a similar climate is to be expected at any given latitude on continental west coasts, east coasts, or interiors. Climatic location is simplified and given greater precision by the use of any of the modern classifications of climate.

But climatic location is only one phase of the subject. There is also location with reference to the major pattern of natural vegetation. There is location with reference to the chief soil types. There is location with reference to the larger surface features—the mountains, uplands, and plains—which differentiate the face of the continents. There is location with reference to inhabited parts of the earth, to the centers of human settlement, to the lines of circulation, and to the political divisions which prevail at the moment. Location to a geographer is not a simple matter: it consists in placing the thing to be located in its whole setting, in its relation to the other things which exist together on the face of the earth. A thing so located is then ready to be interpreted.

**T**HE other approach to location begins with the individual. Essentially it is the development of the skill of understanding the relative position of one's self and of the territory immediately visible. People who have this by no means common skill are said to have a "bump of location." This means that such people are able to move about, even in a strange locality, without losing the sense of direction—the relative position of things which lie beyond the range of vision. The development of this skill comes only from experience out of doors. It builds a consciousness of the relation of things visible in the foreground to other things which lie beyond the horizon. It leads finally to the ability to visualize the relation of the things in one's immediate surroundings to the larger patterns of the face of the earth.

This consciousness of the position of one thing with relation to other things on the

earth's surface is the essence of "thinking geographically." It constitutes the chief difference between the wealth of material gained by a geographer when he travels and the scanty material observed by a nongeographer who passes along the same route.

#### LEARNING TO USE MAPS

SINCE the map is the special device used in the study of location, learning to read maps becomes one of the objectives of geographical teaching. The map is to a geographer what a telescope is to an astronomer—it is a device by which vast distances are reduced to a size which human intelligence can comprehend and interpret. Yet if there is any one part of geographical teaching which needs a fundamentally new approach it is in the teaching of maps. The "map illiteracy" of the American people is widespread, and the results, in a democracy, could be disastrous. The map, like the printed page, is a form of symbolism which one must learn to read by carefully considered stages.

Whether because of ineffective geography teaching in the grades, or for other reasons, the fact remains that the average American is illiterate in terms of maps. For example, I was startled last summer by a headline in a southern newspaper: "Germans Drive Forty Miles Below Paris." To many people with whom I have spoken about this headline, the error is not immediately apparent, so common is this way of speaking. The use of the words up and down with reference to maps leads to complete confusion, for instance in the distinction between the upper Nile and the lower Nile. In fact, it led one college student to insist that the Nile could not possibly flow up to the Mediterranean!

MAP illiteracy of this sort is not limited to the non-professional public. At least one social studies book I have seen made use of Mercator maps to compare the United States with the Soviet. Not long ago I listened as an eminent student of popula-

tion made the statement that Uruguay was the most densely populated country in South America—a statement which is statistically true, but geographically unimportant. On a population map of South America, Uruguay does not stand out as very densely populated, but it is the one country which includes no unoccupied territory. Statistics by such large political units only obscure the facts of population distribution. The geographer would use greater precision in locating the densely populated parts of a continent.

Another example of map illiteracy appeared last summer at a meeting of Latin American experts at Texas. One of the speakers insisted that there was little excuse for our failure in this country to know Spanish and to understand the Mexicans since Mexico, like Canada, was our next door neighbor. But to a geographer, Mexico is not like Canada in its proximity to the United States. A country consists of that part which is essentially unoccupied or only scantily occupied. Most of the Canadians live very close to us; most of the Mexicans live hundreds of miles from a border which itself passes mostly through scantily occupied territory. Our contacts with the Mexican people are relatively remote compared with our contacts with the Canadians.

#### MAN AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

GEOGRAPHY also seeks to develop a valid point of view regarding the relation of people to the physical environment. Yet the achievement of this objective has been retarded by several difficulties. One difficulty, which geographers face along with workers in other social science fields, arises from a false analogy between the so-called natural sciences and the social sciences. It is perhaps unfortunate that so many people insist that each social science must formulate and teach general principles of cause and effect relations, comparable to the principles set forth in chemistry and biology.

The fundamental error in this analogy,

I believe, consists in the great difference in the number of cases on which general principles are based. Unbelievable numbers of atoms combine to produce the results covered, for example, by Boyle's Law; even in biology, principles are based on the experience gained over many generations, and individual exceptions are commonplace. Yet in the social sciences we are asked to formulate principles on the basis of such a relatively small number of cases that close adherence to the generalization is impossible. Yet in how many schools were and are teachers of social studies asked to formulate general principles of human behavior and to support these principles with specific examples! To the thinking student, exceptions are so numerous that the principle and soon the subject itself is discredited.

Geographers, in the days when their training was largely geological, used to be committed to the study of "responses to the physical environment." The day of uncritical environmental determinism is now happily drawing to a close.

Geographers today think of one of their chief contributions to social sciences or social studies as essentially an estimate of the factor of location. Any principle or generalization which is not in harmony with the findings of workers in all the social science fields can not be maintained and should not be taught. This means that principles derived and supported from the data of any one social science field are not to be found. It means that geography must work in close contact and co-ordination with other social science fields; and it means that social science can not advance safely without the contribution of trained geographers, nor can social studies programs omit sound studies in geography.

**R**EGARDING the relation of people to the physical environment, the point of view which seems most closely to harmonize with the findings of other social sciences, especially of anthropology, is that the significance of the elements of the en-

vironment is determined by the nature of the people. A land, therefore, can not be spoken of as favorable or unfavorable for human settlement until it has been made one or the other by a specific group of people. California for the maize-growing Indians was not an especially favorable place; California, for the people of a modern industrial society, is considered to be exceptionally favorable. Northeastern United States, however stimulating its climate may be, did not support as many Indians per square mile as did rainy tropical Yucatan. Land which is rich for a hunting people may prove poor for a people who wish to raise crops. To the ancient Greeks and Romans, lacking devices for central heating, the land north of the Alps was considered fit only for barbarians. No climate, no soil, no land, then, should be described as inherently favorable or unfavorable except in terms of specific human cultures.

An outstanding example of all this is offered by the story of the settlement of the mid-latitude grasslands of the world. These regions, now the chief sources of meat and wheat for occidental peoples, were long considered of little value except for the grazing of range animals. There could be no care in breeding, no feeding from planted crops—only extensive pastoral nomadism. A peculiar sequence of events led to a marked change in the significance to men of these great grasslands.

With the industrial revolution and the rapid increase in the use of power, great concentrations of urban people became established; and as cities grew it was necessary to bring food to them from greater and greater distances. All sorts of inventions made this movement of commerce possible. Railroads and steamboats cut down the significance of distance. Well-drilling apparatus made it possible to live in regions of scanty surface water. Agricultural machinery made it possible to grow crops over huge areas where the yield per acre was too small for the older hand methods. Barbed wire made it possible to fence the fields, to



breed cattle, and to keep the grazing animals out of the growing crops.

As cities grew, a wave of pioneer settlement pressed forward into these grasslands; and as settlement advanced the land values went to even higher figures, thus assuring the financial prosperity of the whole movement. Today all the social scientists can point to the end of an era; and when we reach the end of an era, we must again expect a change in the significance of the factor of location. It is the geographer's business to interpret this changing significance of the land.

The study of the location of man with reference to the land involves a more precise treatment of the land itself than is necessary in other social science fields. The geographer whose interest centers on the distribution of people can not resign his traditional study of the physical aspects of his subject. Among all the social sciences, only geography attempts anything like a precise description of the characteristics of the land—using land in the broader sense of the physical environment. This gives rise to a duality in the field of geography—a characteristic which geography shares with anthropology and a characteristic which has long been a source of irritation to the classifiers. In applied geography there is today a very considerable emphasis on the study of the physical processes as they affect and are affected by the use of the land by man. The connecting thread which gives unity to the field is the factor of relative location, just as all the varied content and special approaches of history are tied together by a preoccupation with the time factor.

#### DEVELOPING ALERT OBSERVATION

**A**NOTHER of the major objectives of geographical studies is the development of habits of alert and informed obser-

vation. The landscape to a geographer is never drab or monotonous, for the habit of picking out significant details reveals the fascinating complexity which underlies apparent uniformity. Even familiar scenes take on new meaning to a person who has been made aware of the significance of the things which lie over the horizon. Any child who has learned to observe the forms and patterns which give character to his own locality quickly identifies the elements which differentiate other localities. He becomes an intelligent traveler who can see his home, his state, or even his nation in the larger perspective; and if his traveling must be carried out by means of the printed page, he is nevertheless motivated to seek new adventures in understanding in strange and remote places.

#### CONCLUSION

**A**LL the social sciences, then, must contribute to the content used in the teaching of social studies. But this does not mean that each of the social disciplines should lose its identity. Especially history and geography, which present the fundamental elementary aspects of time and space, are indispensable for the development of sound principles. And the techniques by which geographers present the factor of location, now perhaps too much neglected in many study programs, must not be overlooked or disregarded. In the hands of teachers not trained as geographers, location becomes the most deadly sort of "place geography." In the hands of teachers trained to appreciate the significance of location and to understand the methods of imparting this significance to students, the geographical contribution to social studies, along with history, provides the solid framework on which important study programs can be erected.



# Prospective Teachers Study and Serve Chicago

Jules Karlin and George J. Steiner

UNLIKE "society," the community is visible and tangible. The processes taking place within it can be isolated and studied directly, and it is possible to compare the findings of one community with those of others, and thus to establish generalizations regarding group behavior and sequences in community life.

A large urban community is a vast social laboratory presenting a variety of features which can be studied at various levels of understanding. Statistically it is merely a matter of numbers; politically, a unit of government; economically, a vast industrial and commercial machine. From a deeper point of view it can be regarded as a mode of life, belief, and action—as a product of several processes, geographic, economic, social, and cultural, working together.

An important first step in the utilization of any community's resources is that of obtaining information about them. They must be selected, classified, and evaluated if they are best to serve the needs of prospective teachers or other students. Care

must be taken to study the various elements of community life as they cohere or "hang together"; otherwise, field studies are likely to lose their educational value and degenerate into interesting but patternless items.

It is essential to give considerable thought to the type of trips to be taken and the educational purposes to be served. Among the factors which should be taken into account are the relation of the trip to the topics being studied; the level of understanding of the participants; the amount of time which may be consumed; the observable objects and the experiences which are available; and the ways in which the observations and experiences may be utilized after returning from the trip. The probability of valuable educational outcomes is enhanced to the extent that such factors are weighed in advance of the excursion.

A RELATED problem is that of evaluation. What is the value of a particular field study? If field studies are to have the most effective educational use, they must be carefully selected and evaluated by educational criteria, such as:

1. Does the activity acquaint students with the resources of their own community?
2. Does it permit students to envision the community as a social organism with human interrelations?
3. Does the activity utilize the immediate community as an illustration of the broader and basic contemporary problems and trends?
4. Can the activity be related to the present living experiences of the students? Is it interesting and challenging to them?

As community study becomes prominent in the program of the schools it must be given corresponding attention in programs for teacher training. This account of field trips in Chicago offers suggestions that can be applied elsewhere. Only seven of the twenty trips scheduled are described here. The authors are members of the social science department in the Chicago Teachers College.

5. Does the activity give the students an opportunity to participate cooperatively in community improvement? Does it cultivate a disposition to act for the general welfare, or does it lead to a withdrawal from community life?

6. Does the activity contribute to the growth of knowledge, skills, and ideals?

7. Does it promote critical thinking?

#### ILLUSTRATIVE FIELD STUDIES

**C**HICAGO TEACHERS COLLEGE is operated by the Chicago Board of Education and is devoted to the training of teachers for the public schools of Chicago and Cook County. In September, 1938, the faculty introduced a curriculum which would make its graduates better qualified to teach in a complex metropolitan setting. The faculty recognized that if the prospective teachers were to understand the social conditions which affect the problems of the classroom, they must be given time for direct contacts. Thus provisions were made to allow large groups of students a full day of the school week for field studies. These have been carried on in connection with an introductory social science course in "Community Backgrounds of Education."

The course treats of all phases of community life in functional and concrete terms. Isolated details are not studied in themselves, but people are studied in their relationships to each other and to their surroundings. For example, a trip into the industrial community of South Chicago is organized to study this local community as a pattern of people and institutions. Steel, labor, the church, government, and the social agencies at work within it are treated in their relations to each other.

An effort is made to illustrate that no two local communities within metropolitan Chicago possess quite the same constellation of institutions, problems and needs, activities, and types of human beings. The following field studies are typical of those offered, and may suggest possibilities for other situations.

#### 1. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

##### *Places to visit:*

Illinois Central Railway Terminal  
Keeshin Trucking Terminal  
Illinois Bell Telephone Company  
Central Traffic System at City Hall  
United States Post Office

*Aims:* (1) to provide some direct insight into the extremely complex network of channels for transportation and communication needed to maintain the city as a going concern; (2) to furnish a basis for estimating the tremendous volume of persons, merchandise, and messages which must be carried into, through, and away from Chicago if the city is to maintain its existence; and (3) to offer some indications regarding the importance of transportation and communication for Chicago's growth.

##### *Schedule for field trip:*

9:00 A.M. Meet at the Haven School, 1472 South Wabash Avenue, for introductory talk and instructions.

9:45 A.M. Illinois Central Station for explanation of operation and talk by suburban traffic manager.

10:15 A.M. Trip over 12th Street viaduct for view of one of the major freight arteries.

10:45 A.M. Operation of Keeshin's trucking terminal for a better understanding of the development of motor transportation.

11:15 A.M. Luncheon.

12:30 P.M. Illinois Bell Telephone Forum, 311 West Washington Street, for motion pictures and demonstration of the various operations carried on such as local exchange, long lines, manual operation, automatic operation, cable vaults, and broadcasting control.

2:15 P.M. City Hall for inspection of traffic signal control.

2:45 P.M. United States Post Office.

#### 3. AN URBAN NEGRO COMMUNITY

*Aims:* (1) to secure direct information concerning the physical, economic, and cultural aspects of urban Negro life; (2) to make a first-hand study of the Negro's educational, religious, and recreational activities—his contribution to business, industry, and art—and also the agencies promoting better inter-racial understanding; and (3) to gain a fuller and more sympathetic insight into the problems that affect the inhabitants of this area, such as poverty and bad housing.

*Schedule for field trip:*

9:00 A.M. Meet at the Doolittle School. Preliminary discussion by the principal on the school and the community, and by a representative of the Chicago Urban League.

9:30 A.M. Leave in busses for tour of the area. Inspection of the Mecca Building as an example of a congested housing situation. The routes are so planned as to enable students to see that light industry is invading the area, that there are many lodging and boarding houses for transients, and that there is much overcrowding in spite of the high proportion of vacant land.

10:20 A.M. The Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company, a million-dollar enterprise entirely owned and managed by Negroes.

11:10 A.M. The Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments, a model private housing project for Negro families of moderate means. Erected in 1929 it demonstrates that private capital invested in modern housing facilities can earn a fair profit. Gardens, landscaped courts, a social room, playground, and nursery school are features of the development.

12:00 M. Tour of the Provident Hospital, an outstanding Negro medical institution.

12:45 P.M. Luncheon at the Wabash Avenue YMCA.

2:00 P.M. Short lectures and discussions on unemployment and the standards of living in the area, and Negro contributions to American life and culture by representatives of the YMCA, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Illinois Employment Service.

#### 4. HULL HOUSE AREA

A direct study of Chicago's near West Side, an area of great historic and sociological importance. Observation of the customs, habits, and dwellings of the various racial and nationality groups in the area. The work of the Hull House and other social agencies carrying on family, group, and protective work. The Jane Addams Housing Project is viewed in the light of the needs of the community.

#### 6. CHICAGO UNION STOCKYARDS

A survey for the purpose of gaining greater insight into Chicago's largest industry—the packing industry—and the surrounding community, the people, their dwellings, habits,

standards of living, institutional pattern, ideals, and efforts towards a higher form of community organization.

#### 9. URBAN GOVERNMENT

How the city manages its affairs through collective political effort—legislation, the court system, and the major departments such as the Bureau of Public Works, City Comptroller's Office, Department of Weights and Measures, and the Municipal Law Department.

#### 10. PUBLIC SAFETY

The inspection of a most important aspect of city government, the activities of the police, fire, and health agencies including the organized policing of streets, regulation of traffic, arresting of violators of the law, operation of police courts, crime prevention, protection of life and property, preventing fire through building regulation and inspection and fire fighting, protecting health through inspection of water, milk, and other necessities, and combating diseases.

#### 14. SOCIAL CASE WORK

A survey of the community's organization for social welfare, public and private. The nature and scope of social work, types of social work, and the organization and functioning of some of the more important social service agencies in Chicago. Visits to the Chicago Relief Administration, the United Charities, and the Jewish Social Service Bureau for the direct study of budgets, needs of clients, and services rendered.

#### PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL GROUP WORK

IT IS not enough that prospective teachers be trained merely to "know life" outside the classroom. Observational procedure, although a valuable tool, is hardly sufficient for training citizens and teachers.

Service projects of various kinds have been found valuable for this purpose. However, no area of educational experience is of greater value than actual participation in social-group work. It offers an opportunity for intimate contacts of a companionable sort with the children whom they later may be called on to instruct. Through visits to the homes of the children, and talks with



parents, students come to gain sympathetic insight into pupils' backgrounds and hopes. They learn through direct experience how young people spend their hours away from the classroom.

The good teacher, as well as the good group worker, should be aware of the social significance of group experience. Both should be skilled in processes of social interaction. Nursery groups, play groups, athletic clubs, groups working in the arts and crafts, classes and clubs, and other such types of activities are among those which the students of Chicago Teachers College have been leading at the Bethlehem Creche and Settlement, Hull House, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago Commons, Northwestern University Settlement, South Chicago Community Center, Emerson House, Bethlehem Community Center, House of Happiness, Chase House, the Hyde Park Neighborhood Club, and other social settlements all over the city. These groups are small laboratories of experience in democratic living.

Through leadership of small groups it becomes clear that the individual members of groups have varying needs and make different demands upon the same group. Some ask for a chance to dominate, others to submit; some search for new experience, others for recognition and a chance to use newly developed powers. All participants, the leader as well as the members of the group, work together in close contact—sharing pleasures, taking pride in ends achieved, experiencing defeats and responsibilities. In such activities they become subject to a democratic discipline and learn to understand and enjoy others of differing creed and nationality.

**A**LTHOUGH participation in social-group work was placed on a voluntary basis at Chicago Teachers College, the number of students offering their services to settlement houses of the city has grown

in number and effectiveness. At present there are approximately 300 students serving as student leaders of social groups.

Through arrangements made with Miss Genevieve Byrne as a representative of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, students are provided with initial training in social-group work at a training school established at the Bethlehem Creche and Settlement. This period of training is devoted to lectures on the theory and significance of social-group work, its relation to the school, and to laboratory periods demonstrating various skills and techniques which are necessary for the informal leadership and instruction of small groups of children.

This should serve as a valuable background for their professional training as teachers later in their work, since the control called for by leaders of small, informal groups is entirely lacking in all appeal to authority and the authoritarian principle.

Recently some sixty-five student leaders have accepted responsibility for providing the Hyde Park Neighborhood Club a full staff of volunteer leaders from the college. They are now working in close cooperation with the director, the staff, and the Board of the Hyde Park Neighborhood Club. They welcome the opportunity to serve and recognize it as a valuable part of their training. They are leading groups in art, woodwork, athletics, crafts, sewing, cooking, dramatics, social and folk dancing, story telling, and informal music—as well as attending conferences with the club staff and with the leaders of the community of Hyde Park. Through this means the work of the club will be greatly extended in scope and efficiency. Our aim is to make the community increasingly educative through enlisting the aid of community leaders in the training of prospective teachers, and to encourage student activity and participation in community life. It is hoped that students will become more aware of community needs and be prompted to assume leadership in community life.



# Government and Public Utilities

Philip L. Gamble

IN THE United States the legal line between what is and what is not a public utility has become increasingly hard to draw. Common usage recognizes as public utilities railroad, gas, water, telephone, street-railway, and electric light and power companies. All of these enterprises are selected for special regulation not applied to the usual competitive business. Using the criterion of special regulation, there are at the present time many other businesses "affected with a public interest" whose services "are characterized by public convenience and necessity."

Some idea of the importance of public utilities may be gained by noting that according to M. A. Copeland about 8.2 per cent of the national income was produced by private public-utility companies in 1926.<sup>1</sup> But his estimate did not include gas companies, waterworks, pipe lines, publicly owned utilities, or any other of the

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Copeland, "The National Income and Its Distribution," *Recent Economic Changes* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1929), vol. II, p. 799.

How far have we already gone in government regulation of public utilities and in the establishment of competing or supplementary government enterprises? What forms of government activity are possible? These questions are dealt with by a professor of economics at the Massachusetts State College.

The article is one of a series planned in cooperation with the Social Studies Committee of the American Political Science Association.

numerous businesses which could be classified as those "affected with the public interest."

Yet the root of the public-utility problem is not found exclusively in the vast extent of the income and wealth of the public utilities, but rather in the desire to eliminate or control the great economic and political power which they possess. This power comes from natural, social, or economic factors, or privileged legal position as compared with other purely private businesses. In their common monopolistic form, public utilities are beyond the reach of the automatic checks and balances of the free market. Consequently, public authorities have been forced to institute other controls for the protection of the consumer from inferior services and unreasonable rates. These controls also operate to protect the utility from destructive and predatory competition which would impair the rendering of indispensable or reasonably necessary services.

Several devices are available for the solution of the public-utility problem. Among them may be listed the regulatory commission, government competition, government ownership, the extension of the cooperative movement, and joint government and private control, either through the public-utility trust or the mixed undertaking.

## ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSIONS

FOR over fifty years the federal and state governments have attempted to cope with public utilities through the device of administrative commissions. These commissions exercise a fairly constant regulation varying in scope and importance between

legal jurisdictions and between public-utility services. Important federal commissions familiar to all are the Interstate Commerce Commission, which exercises control over the rail and motor-carrier industry; the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates the radio, telephone, and telegraph industry; the Federal Power Commission, which controls navigation, the development of water power, and the interstate transmission and sale of electric energy and gas; the United States Maritime Commission, which regulates the operation of water carriers engaged in interstate, foreign, and coastal commerce; and the Civil Aeronautics Authority, which regulates the operation of air carriers engaged in interstate and foreign transportation.

Many other federal agencies exist for the purpose of supervising and controlling public-utility operations. Among these can be listed the Department of Justice, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the National Mediation Board, and the newly appointed Wages and Hours administrator.

This enumeration is by no means a complete picture of the extent of federal regulation of businesses "affected with the public interest," but it is difficult to be either complete or accurate when, from the legal point of view, the public-utility concept has become merely a rationalization which permits regulation for some types of business activity and prohibits it for other types.

In general the public-utility problem has been handled by local governments in a fashion similar to that of the federal government. Most states have established tribunals with more or less extensive authority over the local operations of such industries as electric light, heat and power companies, state and interurban railways, motor vehicle carriers, gas companies, water companies, and telephone and telegraph companies.

#### CRITICISMS OF REGULATION

THE regulatory commissions of both the federal and state governments have been subject to continuing and intensifying criticism for a long period of time. Some commissions have been ineffective because of insufficient appropriations, poorly drafted legislation, insufficient jurisdictional authority, lack of initiative and responsibility on the part of commissions, corrupt or incompetent personnel, and improperly conducted public relations. All of these defects could be eliminated.

Other objections to the commission form of regulation are more important. The practice of judicial review tends to defeat the efforts of even the best regulatory commission because the court is frequently less well-informed on the problems in question than it should be, or because the judicial delay prevents equitable decisions within a reasonable time period.

ANOTHER objection rising out of the practice of judicial review comes from the fact that the court has made regulation in a scientific manner almost impossible by the imposition of restrictions upon the use of the rate-making function. Beginning with the doctrine developed in *Smyth v. Ames*<sup>2</sup> limiting fixation of rates to those which will yield a "fair return" upon the "fair value" of the property of a public utility, the courts have developed an illogical and bewildering collection of valuation formulae. At one time decisions will seem to lean towards one type of reproduction cost, at another time towards market value, in another instance to some one of a dozen types of historical costs as a measure for fixing the return base, while in one famous rate case the Supreme Court said that all methods here enumerated should be used and any others that might apply.

Today the valuation problem is the most common subject for public-utility litigation. This litigation with its attendant

<sup>2</sup> 169 U.S. 466, 42 L. ed. 819.

serious delays in administration has hindered the regulatory commissions to such an extent that they hesitate to use their statutory rights over rates except in the most extreme cases. Consequently, administrative rate-making has become sporadic and unscientific.

**A** FURTHER difficulty with the administrative commission arises from the American doctrine of federalism. Sometimes state control is unable to cope with the power of a corporation doing business in several states, especially if the federal government does not choose to regulate the interstate business, and vice versa. Occasionally interstate regulation is defeated because of the lack of intrastate regulation. On other occasions jurisdictional conflicts interfere with efficient functioning of the commissions.

In an effort to smooth out these conflicts a number of Congressional acts have authorized the establishment of boards of state and federal officers to handle jointly problems of national laws concerned with questions of local import. At other times Congress has authorized state commissioners to sit with a federal agency, and in a few instances Congress has employed the device of supplementary regulation which permits each government to operate within its respective sphere of sovereignty, but partially avoids the jurisdictional problem by the formulation of similar legislative objectives.

By the method of federal loans and grants-in-aid to local authorities, it is sometimes possible to get uniformity of action that avoids jurisdictional disputes. By this device the loan is made only if the local agency conforms to certain determined rules and regulations.

**A** FINAL criticism of the administrative process is that it sets up a body whose primary function is to audit and check the work of others. From an economic point of view this often means two accountants where one should do, and from the point

of view of human relations it means that there is often a basic antagonism between the regulator and those regulated. Occasionally this leads to a division of authority and responsibility between the public utility and the commission which is opposed to the best interests of efficient management of a business enterprise.

#### GOVERNMENT COMPETITION

**A** SECOND device for the control of public utilities is government competition. This competition replaces the lack of private competitive checks and restraints. There is probably no reason for objecting to government competition unless it is carried on with great extravagance and unnecessarily high standards of service with a failure to recognize all necessary costs.

Traditionally, however, laissez-faire capitalism has been opposed to government in business, preferring that most of our economic wants should be satisfied by private enterprise. Current examples of government competition are associated with the operations of the Inland Waterways Corporation and the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Inland Waterways Corporation was established to regulate water carriers and operate a barge line on the Mississippi River in competition with other transportation businesses. The Tennessee Valley Authority has among its many functions the provision of electric power and its distribution so as to form an effective competitive yardstick for the power industries throughout the entire Tennessee Valley.

Although the Supreme Court has permitted government competition with wood-yards, gasoline stations, and electric-power distribution, it is not known how far the Supreme Court would go in protecting the federal government in extensions of the range of its competitive activity. There seems to be no limit, however, to the degree in which the government may go by means of loans and grants-in-aid to local authorities for the construction and operation of public utility enterprises.



Apart from the federal experiments in federal-state cooperation, the competitive device has been utilized most frequently by local governments. Many agree that local enterprises have been very effective in producing high-quality service at low rates in most municipalities where they operate.

The competitive method is advantageous from an administrative standpoint because it eliminates the necessity of a regulatory board, does away with the possibility of judicial review, and operates through the normal channels of a capitalistic economy. From the economic point of view, however, it leads to duplication of plants and services, and may eliminate the advantages possessed by a natural monopoly in giving service to the public.

#### PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

**A** THIRD device for the control of public utilities is public ownership. This type of complete control is common among local governments for water companies, electric light and gas companies, and local transportation systems. The federal government operates, among other utilities, the Panama Canal.

Through the government ownership of business the profit motive is eliminated so that public service becomes the paramount objective. This may mean that average costs will determine the expansion of service with resultant wider extension of service to the public.

Not only may public ownership insure wider development of a service such as rural electrification, but it may also prevent the abandonment of important services necessary to a community's well-being. Finally the government might provide brand new services which private enterprise is either unwilling or unable to undertake because of the large risks involved or the tremendous capital required. Pioneering government ownership was shown in the construction of highways, the transmission of the mails, and the development of our merchant marine.

As the sole method of solving the public-utility problem, however, public ownership has some weaknesses. It is possible that the Supreme Court through future interpretations of the Fifth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution may limit the activities of the federal government in developing a program of public ownership. Furthermore, public ownership may involve the creation of new difficulties or the intensification of the traditional shortcomings of government, including an excess of democratic controls, questionable accounting practices, poor public-relations programs, and lack of industrial and commercial experience.

#### COOPERATION

**S**TILL another device for handling the public-utility program might be the development of cooperatives for the production of public-utility services. Obviously production for use rather than profit would eliminate much of the need for government regulation, and with it the problem of judicial review. Then too the co-operative could act as a stimulus to representative government by insisting on the duties as well as the rights of citizens.

It has also been suggested that the problem of public-utility control might be solved by making government and private individuals "partners" in public-utility enterprises. If government representatives were on the board of trustees of a public-utility enterprise, either because of government investment in that enterprise or because of new legislation requiring their presence, there would be less difficulty for the government in communicating its wishes or acquiring information essential for the control of the enterprise. Our Federal Reserve System represents one possible arrangement of this sort. Here we find that capital is subscribed by private corporations, but control is placed in government hands for some functions, and divided between government and the representatives of the private corporations for other activities.



The British have applied this system with some success in the form of the public-utility trust. Outstanding examples are the British Broadcasting Corporation, the London Transportation Board, and the Central Electricity Board. In these organizations the directors of the utility trust have the exclusive management of the business, and the corporate owners possess no voting rights as the result of their ownership.

It is, of course, possible, as indicated above, that some voting power be given to the private investor. When this is done on a wide scale, and when the government puts up some of the capital, the enterprises are sometimes called mixed undertakings. This device has been utilized in France, Germany, and Great Britain where varying percentages of public investment are mixed with private investment. Important British examples of the mixed undertaking are the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, the Manchester Ship Canal, and the Southampton Harbor Board. The Banks of the United States were examples of this device in our country.

As between the public-utility trust and the mixed undertaking, it is obvious that the former requires less government investment, tends to eliminate the profit motive as a source of trouble, and makes no compromise with the idea that public-utility enterprises should be managed predominantly for the public good. The problem of selecting responsible trustees who will be free from political influence is, of course, inescapable in this as in every other instance of governmental interference.

All of the devices that have been enumerated will probably be used by American governments, and new experimentation is probable and desirable. It seems likely that the field of "businesses affected with a public interest" will enlarge, increasing the

need for continued study of the public-utility problem.

#### SUGGESTED READINGS

##### 1. Books

- Gruening, Ernest H. *The Public Pays: A Study of Power Propaganda*. New York: Vanguard, 1931.  
 Ostrolenk, Bernhard. *Electricity: For Use or for Profit?* New York: Harper, 1936.  
 Behling, Burton N. *Competition and Monopoly in Public Utility Industries*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1938.

##### 2. Government Documents

In addition to the reports of the public-utilities commission of your own state, the following federal reports and documents, published by the Government Printing Office and available from the Superintendent of Documents, are especially valuable:

- Of the many volumes in its *Report on Utility Corporations* published by the Federal Trade Commission, the following are perhaps especially usable:  
 "Compilation of Proposals and Views for and Against Federal Incorporation or Licensing of Corporations and Compilation of State Constitutional, Statutory, and Case Law Concerning Corporations, with Particular Attention to Public Utility Holding and Operating Companies" (70th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 92, Part 69-A; 1934);  
 "Summary Report . . . on Economic, Financial, and Corporate Phases of Holding and Operating Companies of Electric and Gas Utilities" (*Ibid.*, Part 72-A, 1935);  
 "Summary Report . . . on Holding and Operating Companies of Electric and Gas Utilities. Survey of State Laws and Regulations; Present Extent of Federal Regulation and the Need of Federal Legislation; Conclusions and Recommendations and Legal Studies in Support Thereof" (*Ibid.*, Part 73-A, 1935).  
 Temporary National Economic Committee. *Hearings*, especially Part 5, pp. 1833-45, Part 5A, pp. 2409-17, and Parts 22, 23, and 24. 1939-40.  
 Office of the Federal Coordinator of Transportation, *Public Aids to Transportation* . . . , 4 vols., 1938-40.  
 Federal Power Commission, *National Power Survey: The Use of Electric Power in Transportation* (Power Series No. 3, 1936).

##### 3. Magazines

- Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*. All issues (1925-)  
*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. "Power and the Public." vol. 159, January, 1932, and "Ownership and Management of Public Utilities," vol. 201, January, 1939.  
*Fortune*, "Washington and Power," vol. XVII, no. 2, pp. 62-63, 128-44, February, 1938.

# Student Opinion on the Air

Luella Hoskins

**T**EACHERS know that students like to discuss almost any topic under the sun. Many schools encourage and direct this inclination by urging the formation of clubs or groups whose chief function is to conduct round tables, forums, debates, or panels in an organized way on subjects of general interest to the student body.

The Radio Council of the Chicago Public Schools felt that a series of broadcasts might be pertinent which would give high school boys and girls an opportunity to hear what some of their contemporaries had to say on issues confronting the average adolescent. As a result, since the spring of 1938 a series called "Student Opinion" has been a regular feature of our out-of-school broadcasting activities.

## SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

**B**EFORE the close of school in June we audition a student representative from each high school. Three or four weeks before the date of this audition a bulletin is sent out suggesting procedures for the selection of this representative. We suggest that a general "contest" be conducted under the auspices of the social science department, that all interested students may take

part in the try-outs, and that a jury of students and teachers vote for the candidate to represent the school. The only qualifications we indicate are an interest in and an "appreciation" of social studies, the ability to speak clearly, and skill in talking extemporaneously. Instead of having the students compete on an individual basis, that is by making speeches or having debates, we propose that the contest be conducted in a series of panel discussions, eliminating from each panel by vote of the jury those who seem incompetent. The final panel is made up of those who have successfully participated in one of the others. From this group the jury chooses the student to be auditioned by the Council.

Our own audition is conducted in a manner similar to that described above, but the judges are two or three members of the Council staff. A rating sheet records the name, address, home telephone number, school, grade, and summer plans of each student who appears. Ten qualities are rated on a five-point scale; a rating of five points indicates unusual ability or quality, while marked deficiency is indicated by a single point. The simple mimeographed chart also has a column for remarks on each quality. The ten qualities are (1) ability to convey ideas; (2) ability to listen and respond; (3) ability to summarize; (4) use of references; (5) vitality—liveliness; (6) sense of humor; (7) quality of speech; (8) usage; (9) vocabulary; and (10) radio voice.

Although we do not demand outstanding scholarship or social leadership as qualifications, the group which finally appears usually contains editors of school newspapers, officers in student organizations, and school "personalities."

A few communities have regularly scheduled broadcasts by students. Others have facilities of which the schools could readily take advantage. The author of this article on student discussion broadcasts in Chicago is director of the Student Opinion series sponsored by the Radio Council of the Chicago Public Schools.

## PRELIMINARY MEETINGS

THE ten or twelve students whom we select meet as a group at least once before the summer vacation begins. This is simply a get-acquainted gathering: the students talk about themselves and the director of the student discussion talks about the program. We draw up a schedule of summer meetings. These are held once a week for two hours a session, usually in the evening since many members of the group work during the day.

These meetings are hardly rehearsals. They serve for one thing as a means of establishing rapport, and of familiarizing the group with radio techniques. They draw up lists of topics of interest to themselves and their friends, they discuss sources of information, and above all they express their opinions. At several sessions the large group is divided into small panels whose members, after talking together for a few minutes among themselves on some subject, present their discussion over the microphone while the rest of us listen in the control room over the loudspeaker.

AT LEAST two series of these panel discussions are recorded, one series soon after the formation of the group, and one later on in the year so that performance may be compared with the earlier one. In this way, the students themselves can hear and understand their problems and the difficulties of group ad lib conversation as a broadcasting device: diction, usage, hesitancy, pauses, audible breathing, pitch, tone, volume. After the first recording is played back, each student is asked to evaluate the performance of his own group and then his own participation in it. Then they criticize each other. If necessary the director may add a comment or two. The students in the beginning are more prone to blame than to praise, or they are reluctant to point out the mistakes of the others, but eventually they overcome these conflicts. Occasionally they bring their friends down to one or two of these meetings, or

adults are invited in, to listen, ask and answer questions, and advise.

One of the most difficult techniques they have to learn is that of *listening*: of hearing what the others are saying, of putting aside for the moment at least, or completely if necessary, their own pet notions or attitudes as the discussion seems to introduce an approach or aspect different from the one they were anticipating. Another tendency which manifests itself in the early meetings is that of making speeches. It is necessary to bring out the importance of interrupting by brief affirmation, or by asking someone else's opinion, or by offering an additional reference without appearing to be rude. If the situation warrants it they are encouraged to say bluntly but with good humor that so-and-so seems to be making a speech and that it is about time for another point of view.

These summer meetings, we feel, are essential for laying a groundwork when the students are not too hard pressed for time and energy. In the fall we meet only once in two or three weeks, but by that time the students know each other's interests, attitudes, and discussion techniques, and the meetings serve simply to increase their skill.

## BROADCAST

WHEN time has been offered for the actual broadcasts, the group votes on the topics to be discussed, and decide among themselves the sequence of and the participants in each broadcast. Only four students at a time take part in the program. They come down to the studio about two hours before going on the air and outline the general trend of the subject. They broadcast only from this outline—assigning to each other certain phases or points, but being well aware of aspects to be brought out by the others. I take no part in the program, and the group may or may not decide on a chairman for the program. When on the air they simply raise their hands and speak up!

Although all the students who have been

members of Student Opinion since its inauguration three years ago have been well-informed on topics of national and international significance, on problems of social security, the role of labor unions, the causes of war, and the like, the function of this series has not been to present a student rehash of adult opinion, but rather to bring out a discussion of those conflicts encountered daily in their contacts with their colleagues and with adults. Therefore, we find in the lists of topics they think important for analysis such items as the role, purposes, and changes needed in student government; privacy in the home; dating; movies and radio programs; the importance of college; vocational opportunities and guidance; and student newspaper censorship.

IT IS surprising to them how discussion of these problems introduces larger issues relating to the functioning of democracy. The students come to realize that every day confronts them with challenges to their concepts of free speech, to their tolerance and understanding of the diversity in background and outlook of our people, to their awareness of the contradictions in our society, to their sensitivity as to the factors involved in establishing satisfactory human relationships. Although they do come to appreciate these challenges, they are by no means agreed as to their source or solution, but they and their friends have had an opportunity for a little while to discuss the implications in terms of their own experience, interests, and needs.

### For the Civics Bookshelf

*Editor's Note.* Phillips Bradley, professor of political science at Queens College, Flushing, New York, reviewed at length in the February and March issues of *Social Education* a wide range of 1939 and 1940 publications in the fields of American government, international relations, and political theory. Of the many books there mentioned, Dr. Bradley recommends the following eighteen for inclusion in the school or teacher's library.

#### FIRST FOUR

- Dulles, A. W., and Armstrong, H. F. *Can America Stay Neutral?* New York: Harper, 1939. Pp. 277. \$2.50.  
 Herring, E. P. *The Politics of Democracy.* New York: Norton, 1940. Pp. xx, 23-468. \$3.75.  
 International City Managers Association. *Municipal Yearbook.* Chicago: The Association, 1313 East 60th Street, 1939, 1940. \$5.00 each.  
 Tobin, H. J., and Bidwell, P. W. *Mobilizing Civilian America.* New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1940. Pp. xi, 276. \$2.75.

#### NEXT THREE

- Brooks, R. R. R. *Unions of Their Own Choosing.* New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. 296. \$3.00.  
 DeWilde, J. C., Popper, D. H., and Clarke, Eunice. *Handbook of the War.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939. Pp. vi, 248. \$2.00.  
 Shepardson, W. H., and Scroggs, W. O. *The United*

*States in World Affairs.* New York: Harper, 1939, 1940. \$3.00 each.

#### AND ANOTHER ELEVEN

- Brookings Institution. *Government and Economic Life.* Washington: The Institution, 1939-40. Vol. I, pp. 519. \$3.00. Vol. II, pp. 791. \$3.50.  
 Corwin, E. S. *The President.* New York: New York Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 476. \$5.00.  
 Ford, G. S., ed. *Dictatorship in the Modern World.* Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1939. Pp. xiv, 362. \$3.50.  
 MacIver, R. M. *Leviathan and the People.* University: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. ix, 182. \$2.00.  
 Mathews, J. M. *The American Constitutional System.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1940. Pp. xx, 526. \$4.00.  
 Smith, C. W. *Public Opinion in a Democracy.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939. Pp. ix, 598. \$4.00.  
 Stone, H. A., Price, D. K., and Stone, K. H. M. *City Manager Government in the United States.* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, 1940. Pp. xv, 279. \$2.50.  
 Stone, H. F. *Public Control of Business.* New York: Howell Soskin, 1940. Pp. xx, 324. \$3.50.  
 Thorndike, E. L. *Your City.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939. Pp. 204. \$2.00.  
 Wells, R. H. *American Local Government.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. Pp. xii, 200. \$1.50.  
 Wiskemann, Elizabeth. *Prologue to War.* New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1940. Pp. ix, 332. \$3.00.



# Regarding Inter-Americanism

Wayne Alvord

THE Good Neighbor program has now been in effect for eight years. Within the last two years its facets have been multiplied considerably. Existing government agencies have become increasingly active and several new ones have been created.<sup>1</sup> Non-governmental agencies have also been busying themselves with cementing the twenty-one republics into something like hemispheric solidarity, whether for reasons military, economic, or brotherly. For all of the effort expended, the only returns so far visible to the public have been the Declaration of Lima in 1938 and the equally innocuous Havana Convention of 1940.<sup>2</sup>

It should be possible to account for the hesitancy of Latin Americans to fall into

our arms. Even those among them who affirm that there is a present military need for "hemispheric solidarity" seem somewhat wary about moving very rapidly toward its realization. If we can discover what repels them, we should be able to campaign more effectively for their cooperation, whatever our motives. As a people we seem pretty much unaware of what changes in our attitudes and actions are necessary in order to convince our neighbors to the south that they should draw closer to us.

## LATIN-AMERICAN RESENTMENTS

LATIN Americans believe that our people view them superciliously. They believe that the actions of the United States over a long period of years justify the appellation "the big bully up north." In considering whether bygones should be forgotten, there are economic factors which our southern neighbors can not afford to overlook.

Those people resent being ridiculed and scolded in our press, from our platforms, and in our movies.<sup>3</sup> We Americans for generations have resented the condescensions of Europeans toward Americans and American culture. Just so do Latin Americans find it distasteful to be regarded as "natives."<sup>4</sup> Their responsible citizens may very well revolt at being labeled as wilfully stubborn or fascist in sympathy simply because they do not care to play the games we

<sup>1</sup> Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, *Report and Program of Cooperation*, International Conciliation vol. 346 (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, January, 1939); Raymond L. Buell, *The Hull Trade Program and the American System*, World Affairs Pamphlet No. 2 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> Walter W. Van Kirk, *The Lima Conference* (New York: National Peace Conference, 1939); Latin American Committee of the League of Nations Association, *The Lima Conference and World Peace* (New York: League of Nations Association); Frank A. Magruder, *National Government and International Relations* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1940), p. 139; John I. B. McCulloch, *Challenge to the Americas*, Headline Books No. 26 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1940), pp. 11-60.

This timely review of our past and present relations with Latin America comes from a teacher of American history in the Senior High School at Pekin, Illinois.

<sup>3</sup> The movie hit of the winter in Buenos Aires is reported to feature a "Yanqui" as its villain.

<sup>4</sup> Constance F. Stecher, "Dictatorship Versus Democracy in South America," *Social Studies*, January, 1941, p. 16; Carleton Beals, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938), pp. 38-40.

suggest in the ways we propose. Are they not as justified as we in looking out for what they consider their own best individual and national self-interests? Having been taught to be patriots and nationalists, just as we have been, they refuse to admit any inferiority on their part. They certainly are not ready to concede that they have any obligations of allegiance, gratitude, or friendship to the United States.

Multitudes of Americans picture the typical Latin American as a romantic fellow rushing off from strumming a guitar by moonlight under a balcony to play at affairs of state by taking part in some comic-opera revolution. But such a person would not be so realistic as to question our current claims about defending the ideal of freedom. And Latin Americans are questioning, if not ridiculing, the alleged nobility of our motives in promoting hemispheric solidarity.<sup>6</sup> It surely is not unreasonable of them to wonder if, in the military or economic last ditch, we might not dump them overboard to save ourselves. As good nationalists they will want to preserve their own national identities. As good patriots and as economic consumers and producers they will want to be certain of friendly economic relations with whatever people come off victors in the wars now raging. They must take care to place their bets on the winning horse and keep a sharp eye to their own interests. That is realism, not romanticism, in Latin America as elsewhere.

#### HISTORICAL ROOTS OF ILL-FEELING

THE doubts entertained in Latin America now about the nobility of American motives are the manifestations of a well-fixed habit of distrusting Americans and their government. Their fear and apprehension are firmly rooted in our neighbors' long acquaintance with our doings in the hemisphere. This country is referred to in Latin America as the "colossus of the North," whose great corporations, backed

by the State Department and the marines, make it more to be feared than any European power,<sup>6</sup> especially when it assumes the Kiplingesque cloak of righteousness.

The people to the south of us interpret our growth from a seaboard to a continental country somewhat differently than do we. Such, to us, glorious episodes as the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War of 1846-48 are not at all glorious exploits to residents of any of the Latin Americas. There the Mexican Cession is quite likely to be referred to as the "rape of Mexico." The Cuban "protectorate," the acquisition of Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone deal are looked upon as imperialistic adventures,<sup>7</sup> perhaps defensible from the standpoint of American nationalism, but to be viewed with alarm by relatively defenseless Latin Americans. Any patriotic Latin American given to apprehension about a larger nation taking his own into "protective custody" worries about the United States as possible custodian at least as much as he does about the nations of Europe.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, Latin Americans have long felt that we strive to fasten protective custody on them under the guise of applying the Monroe Doctrine,<sup>9</sup> which we seem to regard as some form of higher law. In the years since 1823, the expanding and, to them, ever more threatening "interpretations" of the principle stated by President Monroe have been constant sources of worry. They can remember, too, that Monroe renounced neither the right of the United States to colonize in the Americas nor to attempt to control the sister republics.<sup>10</sup> A Chilean leader once said, in effect, "Monroeism has been made to produce results precisely con-

<sup>6</sup> Stecher, p. 16; Beals, pp. 40, 79, 176.

<sup>7</sup> Delia Goetz and Varian Fry, *The Good Neighbors*, Headline Books No. 17 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1939), pp. 47-48, 57-61; Ryllis A. Goslin and William T. Stone, *America Contradicts Herself*, Headline Books No. 7 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1939), p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Goetz and Fry, p. 9; Beals, p. 307.

<sup>9</sup> Beals, Chapters 7, 8, and pp. 304-306.

<sup>10</sup> Goetz and Fry, pp. 44-45.

<sup>5</sup> Beals, p. 309.

trary to those contemplated by President Monroe. The United States now desires to be able to intervene in all the disturbances in this hemisphere. To this new policy we can give no other name than that of imperialism."<sup>11</sup>

Certainly any Latin-American citizen might find menace in the note sent by United States Secretary of State Olney to the British government in 1895. That note declared in part that, "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."<sup>12</sup> The British could laugh at Olney's braggadocio, but there surely were no laughs in Latin America. There the state of mind was not improved any by the pronouncement a few years later of what is known as the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. Said Theodore Roosevelt, ". . . chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, . . . may force the United States, however reluctantly, . . . to the exercise of an international police power."<sup>13</sup>

Even more blunt was the same President's adjuration to "Speak softly and carry a big stick" when dealing with other nations. People fearing to feel that "big stick" have naturally always been rather wary when dealing with the United States. Mr. Roosevelt succeeded further in aggravating Latin-American distrust and fear of the United States when, in 1911, he said in a public address, "I took the canal zone."<sup>14</sup> And yet some among us can wonder that Latin Americans don't care for the Monroe

Doctrine! Certainly they are well aware that in 1898 Cuba became independent in name only, was in reality subject to directions from Washington. Surely the Monroe Doctrine was not endeared to them on the various occasions when the marines "took over" in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, or Nicaragua.<sup>15</sup> In Hispanic America the Monroe Doctrine, at least as unilaterally administered by the United States, has come to be considered as a collar of servitude.<sup>16</sup>

THEN there is the Pan American Union. James G. Blaine, its progenitor, seems honestly to have intended to apply the golden rule to the Twenty Sisters, in economic relations at least. Here seemed to be a fine tool for cultivating hemispheric peace and general welfare. The Union could have brought to the hemisphere the blessings that have been the lot of the people of the United States through union. But the United States chose to try to use the Union to implement its "sovereignty" in the hemisphere. We took the way of the "big stick" and of "dollar diplomacy."

The actions of the United States as a member of the Union have constantly served to remind Latin Americans that Secretary Olney once wrote that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent." Just as with the League of Nations, mutual prickliness about sovereignty has been a great factor in keeping the Union working at approximately the level of a postal union. Latin-American nations could see no reason to give up sovereignty to an organization they felt to be an agency for implementing the hegemony of the United States.<sup>17</sup> Today we can regret

<sup>11</sup> Magruder, p. 136. See also John Bassett Moore, *Four Phases of American Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1912), p. 147.

<sup>12</sup> Beals, p. 129; "Twenty Nations and One," *Fortune*, September, 1940, p. 76; Charles Beard and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), vol. II, p. 366.

<sup>13</sup> Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1931), p. 294; *Fortune*, loc. cit. There are several wordings of this, all essentially the same.

<sup>14</sup> Pringle, p. 330; the phrase also appears in his memoirs and in a letter of June 19, 1908, to Sir George Trevelyan.

<sup>15</sup> There were marines in Nicaragua and Haiti as late as January, 1933.

<sup>16</sup> Beals, p. 307. For argument that this view is being changed, see the following articles in *Survey Graphic* for March, 1941: "Latin America Trusts Us Now," by Samuel Guy Inman; "The Pan American Hub," by Walter R. Sharp; and "Peace Without Empire," by A. A. Berle, Jr.

<sup>17</sup> Beard and Beard, vol. II, p. 529; Beals, p. 176;



this sabotage of what could have been a fine tool for forging hemisphere defense. As the largest and most potent nation, it was up to us to point the way. We pointed the wrong way.

#### THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY

NOW we are afraid. Now we want to create a hemisphere-wide system of military and naval defense and political solidarity against possible attack of the United States by German or Italian or Japanese armed forces. True, some of us scoff at the possibility of armed invasion of the United States from across the Atlantic or the Pacific. But even these scoffers consider political and economic solidarity among the western nations as indispensable to the continued well-being of American business, or even as insurance against further development of native fascism in the Americas. And there are people in the United States and in some of the Latin Americas who contend that we Americans, north, central, and south, ought to get along better together just because it would be the civilized, Christian thing to do.

In any case, in whatever it is that they are trying to do in Latin America, the Germans and the Italians have been provided with some fine ammunition in the form of all of the prejudices against the United States which exist there. They can work on pride and fear through that label, "the big bully up north." They offer to help throw off the yoke of economic and political subservience, real or fancied, to the United States. Conversely, it is to our advantage that many Latin Americans (most of them, according to expert observers) are just as dubious about German, Italian, and Japanese motives and power to deliver as they are about ours.<sup>18</sup> If we do honestly desire to

preserve Latin-American freedom and sovereignty, even if only as a means to our own ends, then we can take hope when such an authority as Carleton Beals contends that no Latin-American government will yield its independence to *anyone* without a fight.<sup>19</sup>

Some thirteen years ago, Herbert Hoover, as President-elect, began a reversal of the official American attitude toward the Latin Americas. Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor program has been a further flowering of the same thing. The Big Stick has been thrown away; the Platt Amendment is off the books. When the oil expropriations took place in Bolivia and Mexico no marines appeared. Neither did they appear when some 75 per cent of Latin-American dollar bonds went into default during the thirties.<sup>20</sup> The Roosevelt administration has steadily gone upon the premise that mutual trust and voluntary co-operation will more effectively lead to inter-American friendship and concerted action than will the Big Stick. It is not easy to break down animosities which have been generations in the building and have been passed on from father to son. That Latin Americans are appreciative of the new attitude, though still somewhat dubious about its permanence, is indicated by the agreements into which they have entered with us and with each other of late years. The most notable instance of the profits of the new policy was the agreement entered into at Havana in 1940.

#### ECONOMIC OBSTACLES

HAD they never been offended in the past, Latin Americans might yet hesitate to give themselves utterly to us now. A Chilean delegate at the Havana conference last year is reported to have said, in response to headlines in American newspapers, that, "Freedom is no satisfaction if

Sharp, p. 131. Beals speaks of the Union as "a sort of bureau of colonial affairs."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72; John I. B. McCulloch, "Influence from Overseas," *Survey Graphic*, March, 1941, pp. 112, 114. This statement is borne out by several laws and decrees of the past year.

<sup>19</sup> Beals, p. 380.

<sup>20</sup> "Twenty Nations and One," *Fortune*, September, 1940, p. 145.



you can't sell your crops."<sup>21</sup> Chileans and all the others might well find that, for them, freedom lies in assurance of suitable trade situations when the war shall be ended. Some of them have no assurance that the United States can or will do anything for them.

No Latin-American country approaches economic self-sufficiency. All of them are largely dependent upon imports for processed goods, for which they trade raw materials.<sup>22</sup> That trade is sea-borne and vital to the welfare of the inhabitants. If any nation controls the sea lanes to and from any Latin-American country, that nation has an excellent opportunity for economic overlordship, or at least for most favored nation status. For that reason, British and American traders have always had a larger share of Latin-American business than have, say, the merchants of Germany and Italy.

However, for Americans, South America has not been so fruitful a trading area as the region in and around the Caribbean Sea.<sup>23</sup> South American trade routes tend to link with Europe, as they have for four hundred years. It is, after all, only ten days by steamer from Rio to Lisbon, eleven days to Plymouth, England. To go to New York requires twelve to fourteen days. For Mexico, the five central republics, Colombia and Venezuela, and the West Indian republics, most of the trade routes run north and south. Nearly two-thirds of the direct Latin-American investments held by Americans are in the Caribbean area. We supply 55 per cent of their imports and take about 50 per cent of their exports, mostly tropical goods which are non-competitive with American production.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>22</sup> Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *South America's Trade* (Washington: the Chamber, 1938); Joan Raushenbush, *Look at Latin America*, Headline Books No. 27 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, November, 1940), pp. 16, 19, 44-45.

<sup>23</sup> Pan American Union, *Latin American Foreign Trade, a General Survey, 1939* (Washington: the Union, 1940).

<sup>24</sup> Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *Amer-*

*Ships of American registry dominate these trade waters. Here the European trade has been marginal, and its eclipse has not been so injurious as for the republics farther south. Here, too, we have always enjoyed better political relations than with the countries farther south.*

TO THE south of Colombia and Venezuela we have not fared so well, either in trade or in politics. These remaining South Americans generate over one-half of all Latin-American exports. About 50 per cent of their imports have recently come from Europe. The most southerly of them have ordinarily looked to Europe for 60 to 70 per cent of their foreign markets. Their export raw materials, principally meat, corn, and cotton, are competitive with those of the United States.<sup>25</sup> Citizens of the South Temperate Zone who are interested in foreign trade doubt very much that we will or can do anything for them. They will think many times before adopting any course of action that might imperil future trade relations with Europe, whether free or Nazi-dominated.

It is well to remember, too, that while even the whole of our Latin-American trade is not crucial to our national economy, it is crucial and decisive to some of the Latin Americas. Only about 5 per cent of total United States production goes into the export trade, and of that the Twenty Sisters take somewhat less than one-fifth. But that is well over one-third of total Latin-American imports. What we import from all of the Latin Americas constitutes only about one-fifth of our total imports, but it is about one-third of their total exports.<sup>26</sup> In terms of dollars, the balance of payments is "favorable" to us but "unfavorable" to

*ica's Economic Strength in Time of War* (Washington: the Chamber, 1938), p. 12; Raushenbush, pp. 25, 35; Juan R. Trippe, "The Business Future—Southward," *Survey Graphic*, March, 1941, p. 137.

<sup>25</sup> *South America's Trade*, pp. 12-39; Trippe, p. 138. See also *Latin American Foreign Trade*.

<sup>26</sup> Buell, p. 22, 43; Raushenbush, p. 39. See also *Statistical Abstract of the United States*.

them. To keep it up they must ship gold here to be buried in Kentucky. Since most of the world's monetary gold is already buried in Kentucky, they might find that commodity hard to secure. They would rather send us more cocoa, coffee, rubber, or even wheat and meat.

**L**ATIN-AMERICAN foreign trade is now suffering from the blockades in Europe. Raw material prices tend to fall faster than the prices of the processed goods they buy. Competition with the United States in some staples aggravates the situation. The natural result is that some of the Latin Americas seek economic self-sufficiency, especially those in the temperate zone. They don't care whether or not their actions suit the capitalists of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, or Japan. They are looking out for themselves in their insistence that there shall be no extraterritoriality for capital. Witness the recent oil expropriations! The greater economic independence they achieve, the more independent they will be politically. The market is not so important to us at the moment as the possible political repercussions. The source of supply for certain "strategic" commodities also means more to us than loss of the markets, and our purchases there would increase good will for us among Latin Americans.

It becomes obvious that we ought to buy more from Latin America, especially from that portion of it south of the equator. We can not, of course, do a great deal directly for the meat, wheat, and cotton of that region. But we might make it possible for other Latin Americans to buy more of those commodities because we buy more from them. We could certainly increase our hemispheric purchases of rubber, peanuts, quinine, cocoa, coconuts, and coconut products, enormous quantities of which we now buy in Africa and the Orient.<sup>27</sup> The

source of supply of some of these is now a source of military worry. Why not insure those supplies by getting them in the Americas, and at the same time permit the suppliers to raise their standards of living by buying other staples from the other Americas? We could also take certain fibers and metals. According to one writer, "should we fill one-half of our proven import needs of American crops from American sources" our per capita imports from Latin America "would be tripled within one year," which would make them about nine dollars a year.<sup>28</sup> But in the words of the same writer, "We must avoid the destructive practice of encouraging Latin American industries and crops by emergency legislation and then leaving them to rot and rust."

#### WE STILL NEED EDUCATION

**T**HE Good Neighbor Policy is designed to correct our historical mistakes in dealing with our neighbors. Our government has also taken cognizance of the commercial possibilities available to promote inter-American solidarity. There are occasional heavings and stirrings to indicate that something is being done.

If we are to enter into an era of closer association with our neighbors, the public will have to become interested and will have to cease to regard the Latin Americas as the land of buffoons. Some groups will have to change their notions about imports and exports, perhaps even suffer losses in order to promote the general welfare. We shall have to treat Latin Americans as human beings, entitled to equal consideration with ourselves.

Teachers of the social studies are certainly in a position to break down many prejudices, to create interest, and to develop in their students a will to promote inter-Americanism, whether for military, economic, or ethical reasons.

<sup>27</sup> Charles M. Wilson, "Buy Hemisphere Products!" *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1941. This is also the

thesis of Carleton Beals' new book, *Pan America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940).

<sup>28</sup> Wilson, p. 154.

# The Significance of the Corporate State

R. L. Lokken

**W**HEN the "tumult and the shouting dies"; when Mussolini has been put away in his shrouds; when Hitler has met his fate; when Stalin has gone to join Lenin; and when democracy again triumphs over dictatorship—in short, when the world has emerged from its present ordeal, political scientists and economists may point to one development in the process of governmental evolution which has run like a silver thread through the dark fabric of Europe's sorry story since 1914. This silver thread is the introduction of corporative representation in government to replace the old representation system based on geographic constituencies. Already the nations of the world have drawn on the corporative features of Italy in particular and the greater emphasis on industrial interests in Russia and Germany in general.

There have been other unique developments, such as the inclusion of a Soviet of Nationalities as one house of the bicameral

Union Central Executive Committee in Soviet Russia and the provision in the Spanish constitution of 1931 that war was "renounced as an instrument of national policy." The latter development has patently failed. The former, which provided representation for the numerous ethnic groups in Soviet Russia, grew out of an attempt to satisfy the many language and cultural groups which go to make up the USSR. Representation by nationalities might conceivably be one of the prerequisites to a successful unification of such an area as the Balkan Peninsula. But the development of the corporative idea appears to have the greatest significance and widest application.

**B**RIEFLY stated, the corporative system provides that at least one branch of the legislative body should be made up of representatives of industrial groups rather than representatives of geographical constituencies. This, it has been said, "is the only form of democracy that is really 'safe for the world.'"<sup>1</sup> The system has been developed in Italy, although some of its features were first developed in Germany in the Weimar Constitution of 1919. This constitution, it will be remembered, provided for a highly representative and democratic government for Germany.

While the term "corporation," which in Italy refers to organizations of workmen and employers that send representatives to the legislature, did not appear in the Ger-

We have talked much—and rather loosely—of dictatorship and totalitarianism in contemporary Europe, and perhaps have failed to note that a new type of representation that need not necessarily be geared to undemocratic government has made its appearance in recent years.

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Goad, "The Principles of the Corporate State," *American Review*, April, 1933, p. 93.



man constitution, the latter did provide for industrial representation. This was accomplished by the creation of a National Economic Council, which represented both labor and capital. Since the National Economic Council reviewed all drafts of important laws on social and economic policy and since it could also propose this type of legislation, a form of economic representation was introduced into the government. The Italians carried their development still further and finally, on March 23, 1939, replaced the old Chamber of Deputies consisting of political representatives with a new *Chamber of Fasci and Corporations*, consisting of economic representatives together with those of the Fascist political organization.<sup>3</sup> Mussolini had indicated, in a speech before the National Assembly of Corporations on March 23, 1936, that this change would ultimately be accomplished.<sup>4</sup>

Inasmuch as the Italian experiment has been a relatively successful solution of the post-war condition of economic chaos, several other countries have adopted the system. It was said in 1938 to be in successful operation in Portugal, Spain, and Brazil and to give "promise of further extension, especially in Latin-America."<sup>5</sup> Germs of the same idea seem to be developing in other countries. Soviet Russia has featured productive employment as the test for the right of franchise. It also has, as further evidence of the growing emphasis on economic representation, a Supreme Economic Council, the chairman of which is a member of the Union Council of Commissars. The United States had its NRA and still has its AAA and its NLRB. The Labour Party in England promised the establishment of national committees to advise the government on economic policies before the parliamentary election of 1929 and after its vic-

tory kept its pledge by appointing the Economic Advisory Council.

The advantageous features of the Fascist constitution exist quite independently of the notorious undemocratic institutions which have accompanied the Fascist regime in Italy. The corporate state is not necessarily dependent on dictatorship for its success. It should be studied, says Harold Goad, apart from such institutions as the Fascist Revolution, the Fascist Party, the Grand Fascist Council, and the special tribunal for the trial of political offenses, "because it contains many elements and devices that are of universal application, well adapted to contemporary industrial conditions."<sup>6</sup>

#### DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM IN ITALY

WHEN Italy emerged from the first World War she found herself confronted by economic chaos which was only aggravated by the communistic tendencies of traditional trade unionism. Fascist trade unions arose in opposition and in 1923 organized themselves into a general Federation of Fascist Syndical Corporations. The local syndicates have been supplemented by a vertical organization ascending from the local base through provincial, regional, and national organizations. Eight National Confederations, four for employees and four for employers, and one additional confederation to represent professional men and artists were recognized by a law of April 3, 1926. The first eight confederations represented laborers and employers in agriculture, industry, credit and insurance, and commerce. The law gave the confederations wide powers over labor regulations and production in their respective fields and provided a court called the Magistracy of Work to settle disputes which could not be settled among the representatives of capital and labor within the national confederation. Strikes and lockouts were declared illegal.

The Charter of Labor of 1927 defined more fully the relationship between capital

<sup>3</sup> Council on Foreign Relations, *Political Handbook of the World, 1940* (New York: Harper, 1940), p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> F. Lee Bennis, *Europe since 1914* (4th ed.; New York: Crofts, 1939), p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Kenny, "A Model Republic Reviewed by Its Modeler," *Catholic World*, April, 1938, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 81.



and labor while at the same time emphasizing the efficacy of private initiative in business. An electoral reform law of 1928 gave the syndicates the right to nominate members for the Chamber of Deputies and decrees of 1930 and 1931 provided for a National Council of Corporations which consisted, in part, of representatives from the nine syndicates. This body was to have had considerable authority concerning economic affairs but apparently was subordinated to the will of the political organs of the government. In 1934 the formation of twenty-two corporations representing the twenty-two branches of Italy's economic system was announced. These corporations have charge of the whole cycle of production within their respective spheres. Finally, a National Assembly of Corporations was created which, as is stated above, became the successor to the Chamber of Deputies in 1939.<sup>6</sup>

The corporate system in Italy has, to be sure, been considerably dominated by Mussolini and his constitutionalized Fascist Party. Three years before the culmination of the scheme by the creation of a corporate legislative body, it was prophesied editorially that the National Assembly of Corporations (Chamber of Fasci and Corporations) would "certainly have no greater than consultative functions." Yet the point was also made that the nature of the political experiment was the important thing and that its success might as well be accomplished within a democratic framework as under a dictatorship.<sup>7</sup>

MUSSOLINI, while admitting that the Fascist organization had formulated no definite system or plan of action when it began its agitation for control, was able, in 1936, to point to the corporate system as the "greatest legislative novelty" of the Fascist Revolution. One year earlier he had

averred that "the Fascist State has drawn into itself even the economic activities of the Nation, and, through the corporative and social institutions created by it, its influence reaches every aspect of the national life and includes, framed in their respective organizations, all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation."<sup>8</sup>

An Italian professor, in a ponderous address, has made a valiant effort to show that the corporate order in Italy "is intended to give added protection, assistance and autonomy to the workers both professional and manual without in the least destroying the fundamental guarantees that constitute the precious heritage of bygone ages." He asserted that it had not abolished the principles of equality of all citizens before the law, the rights which belong to all men, the exclusive primacy of the law, the expression of national sovereignty or even the organs of government. "But to these principles," he continued, "it has added others not less fruitful. . . ." He approved the position of the state as final authority as evidenced by the establishment of a labor court for final recourse in case the economic organization fails to function properly. He also commended the Italian state for having preserved "in conformity with its nature, a function of essentially integrating individuals."<sup>9</sup>

#### IN OTHER COUNTRIES

THE corporate idea is chiefly significant for its originality and for its possible use in other countries to meet the needs of a changing order. The changing order has resulted from the industrial revolution, the effects of which can not be ignored. When, in George Washington's time, the great majority of people were engaged in a very primitive type of agriculture, one was not

<sup>6</sup> Benito Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," *International Conciliation*, January, 1935, p. 15. Bennis, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> Giorgio Del Vecchio, "Individual, State, and Corporation," *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1935, pp. 554-56.

<sup>8</sup> Bennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-92.

<sup>9</sup> "The Corporative State," *Christian Century*, April 8, 1936, p. 529.

distinguished so much by what he did for a living. At present what one does for a living is more significant than where one lives. People have developed a class consciousness which, in general, divides them along the lines of capital and labor. Representation according to territorial divisions does not give complete satisfaction to these classes. They have found it necessary, therefore, to force recognition of their interests through the practice of lobbying. "The abuses attached to lobbying largely result from the fact that the lobbyist has been forced to do by indirection, and sometimes furtively, what a realistic understanding of the nature of modern life would require that he do directly and in a representative capacity."<sup>10</sup>

Winston Churchill some years ago recognized the inadequacy of the representation system exemplified by the House of Commons. He suggested a supplementary parliament in which representatives would reflect the industrial interests of the country. This, he indicated, would rectify a system which is now "incapable of dealing with the economic problems which confront and fix the fate of modern states."<sup>11</sup> While this may have been something of an overstatement, it at least recognizes the possibility of a change in which economic interests would play a more important role in governmental affairs. That Great Britain moved slightly in this direction may be seen in the establishment of the Economic Advisory Council mentioned above.

THE creation of the NRA appears to have been the principal American contribution to the new idea. The Italian and

the American systems "may be described in terms which show the difference in method but the similarity in substance—in Italy 'cooperation of classes,' in the United States, 'cooperation of industry.'" In both countries the purpose was to bring order out of post-war economic disturbances. In Italy the national corporations represented both capital and labor. In the United States an attempt was made to provide some degree of self-government in industry without consulting the labor interests. The Italian system also differed from the American in its closer association of the State and the economic organization. Both countries have labor courts which are designed to make final settlement of disputes between the worker and the employer, the main distinction being the greater relative authority and efficiency of the Italian court.<sup>12</sup>

Portugal and other countries which have borrowed the corporative system likewise provide special courts for the settlement of industrial disputes. The provision for "social and economic clearing houses . . . for the rural districts, with a view to securing home ownership for every family in the land" in the Portuguese constitution, together with the Italian governmental emphasis on public works, roads, railways, land development, water and electric supplies, workmen's dwellings, hospitals and homes, institutes for maternity and child welfare, extension of popular education and old-age insurance, has a familiar ring in the United States, where the AAA, REA, FHA, TVA, and other alphabetical agencies have been developed to promote similar objectives.

<sup>10</sup> *Christian Century*, April 8, 1936, p. 529.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Giuseppe Bottai, "Corporate State and N.R.A.," *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1935, pp. 615, 623.

# Drama and the Draft

Betty L. Lyon

REPRINTED here is a play entitled *Humors of the Draft* which was published in the May and June issues for 1864 of *The Student and Schoolmate*, a popular children's magazine edited by William T. Adams, better known as Oliver Optic. *Student and Schoolmate* received permission from the proprietors of Chauncy Hall School, a private school for boys in Boston, to reprint the play which had been written for presentation at one of the public entertainments of that school. It is an interesting piece of Civil War propaganda from the period following the passage of the first United States Conscription Act on March 3, 1863.

The fact that this play was given in a school and reprinted in a magazine for children makes it of interest to educators as well as to historians. It is an excellent example of a didactic device for instilling the proper patriotic sentiments in children. Daniel Fearing, Moses Blinker, Zebedee Makepeace, and Dennis Mulleary in their cowardly and transparent efforts to avoid going to war are made the objects of ridicule; they are pitiable, ignorant creatures who are easily trapped and exposed by the shrewdness of those two loyal and patriotic servants of their country, Captain Pickhard and Dr. Bubblebroke.

This satirical comedy from Civil War days, together with an account of conscription in the North, comes from a student in the Department of Education in the Johns Hopkins University.

It is also worth noting that the drama as a supplement to the teaching of patriotism was used as early as 1864. No modern writer on the techniques of teaching the social studies fails to include dramatization as an occasional effective means of stimulating interest either in history or current events. Yet it may be misleading to imply that this play was prepared for classroom work. Actually it was written for public presentation and, as patriotic propaganda, was intended to have a more immediate and general effect in creating a favorable public opinion towards the draft. Undoubtedly, it was to be given at a school exhibition where fathers, uncles, older brothers, and other male relatives would probably be present, so in addition to teaching the proper patriotic fervor to the children, the expected audience reaction was to be a wholesale rush to the nearest recruiting station.

## HUMORS OF THE DRAFT<sup>1</sup>

Characters: Captain Pickhard, *Provost Marshal*; Dr. Bubblebroke, *Examining Surgeon*; Corporal Snyders; Daniel Fearing (very deaf); Moses Blinker; Zebedee Makepeace; Dennis Mulleary.

(Captain Pickhard and Dr. Bubblebroke seated at a table, on which are paper, pens, etc. Corporal Snyders, *Sentinel*, at the entrance.)

*Capt. P.* Well! Doctor, it is nine o'clock, and I suppose we must commence the labors of the day.

*Dr. B.* I am ready, though it grieves me as a lover of my country, to observe the tremendous physical deterioration of the people. I

<sup>1</sup> *The Student and Schoolmate*, May and June, 1864, pp. 153-56 and 186-88.

verily believe there is not an able-bodied man in this district.

*Capt. P.* I don't believe there is: but, Doctor, you have always said that drafts are fatal to health; I believe you were right. Corporal, admit the first applicant.

(*Enter Daniel Fearing.*)

*Capt. P.* Your business, sir?

*Daniel.* Hey?

*Capt. P.* What do you want?

*Daniel.* Speak a little louder, Cap'n; I'm very deaf.

*Capt. P.* O, are you? (*speaking louder*) What is your business here?

*Daniel.* Can't hear, Cap'n; I'm very deaf.

*Capt. P.* (*very loud.*) What is your business here?

*Daniel.* O, I come to git exempted; couldn't hear the order, you see.

*Capt. P.* How long have you been deaf?

*Daniel.* About five feet seven in my stockin' feet.

*Capt. P.* How long have you been deaf?

*Daniel.* Barnstable, down on the Cape.

*Capt. P.* Poor man! He can't hear a word I say. Corporal Snyders!

*Corp. S.* (*Walking forward, with military salute.*) Sir?

*Capt. P.* Jam your bayonet into that man's right ear, and see if you can't open a passage through. (*Daniel edges off.*) You can hear that. Retire Corporal. (*Very loud.*) How long have you been deaf?

*Daniel.* In Californy.

*Dr. B.* No use, Captain. Let me examine his ears with this instrument.

*Capt. P.* None so deaf as those that won't hear.

*Dr. B.* (*Ordinary voice.*) The ear is a very interesting and curious structure, Captain. If this man is really deaf, as I have no doubt he is, the tympanum has become hard and tough, like a piece of sole-leather. Now, Captain, I am going to stick this instrument into his ear (*Daniel shrugs his shoulders, and shakes his head.*) and if the tympanum is hard, it won't hurt him; if in its natural state, the instrument will go through it, and let his brains out through the ear. Don't you see, Captain?

*Capt. P.* Yes, I see. (*Laughing.*)

(*The Doctor walks up to Daniel, with the instrument in his hand.*)

*Daniel.* See here, Doctor, are you going to gouge me with that air thing? (*Retreating.*)

*Dr. B.* I thought you were deaf.

*Daniel.* H—e—y?

*Dr. B.* (*Dropping on one knee and feeling of Daniel's knees.*) I thought so, Captain.

*Capt. P.* What did you think, Doctor?

*Dr. B.* Do you see this man's knee? It's of no use to examine his ears any more. He is exempt.

*Capt. P.* Why, what is the matter with him?

*Dr. B.* Auscultation of the right knee; also, *prolapsus patella*. O, he's exempt.

*Daniel.* I'm very glad to hear it.

*Dr. B.* Then you *did* hear it?

*Daniel.* Well—I did. If I've got the colapsus—what d'ye call it, I s'pose I'm exempt.

*Dr. B.* This man will answer, Captain.

*Daniel.* Didn't you say—

*Dr. B.* But I was only examining your *ears*. I find they are all right.

*Capt. P.* You will report forthwith for duty. Corporal, show him out.

*Daniel.* See here a minute, Cap'n—

*Capt. P.* Pass him along, Corporal, and admit the next.

(*Corporal Snyders removes him—admits Moses Blinker, who appears to be nearly blind, somewhat intoxicated, and feels his way with a cane.*)

*Capt. P.* Your name, sir.

*Moses.* Moses Blinker.

*Capt. P.* What is the matter with you?

*Moses.* I'm—hic—I'm almost blind!

*Dr. B.* Spiritually blind!

*Capt. P.* How long have you been blind?

*Moses.* (*Staggering a little.*) Ever since the great blow that—

*Capt. P.* O, you mean ever since the draft.

*Moses.* No sir! I dzont—hic—no such thing. Ever since the blow that carried away Minot Ledge Lighthouse. I got cold in my eyes that day, and been most blind ever since.

*Capt. P.* Blind drunk, you mean?

*Moses.* No sir! I dzont mean no such thing. I never was drunk in my life. No, sir! (*Walks and falls over chair.*) But I'm patriotic, sir. Yes, sir, I am. It is a—hic—it's a good cause, 'n I'd like to fight for my country. Yes, sir! I'd like to be a Jigadier Brineral—don't ye dzee? But I've lost my eyesight, and can't go. That's the whole of it.



*Dr. B.* Did you mind what time it was when you came in?

*Moses.* No, sir.

*Dr. B.* What time is it now?

*Moses.* Dzont know, sir.

*Dr. B.* Look at the clock and see.

*Moses.* Can't see, sir.

*Dr. B.* Let me see your eyes. (*While the doctor examines them, Capt. P. puts a "quarter" on the floor, near entrance.*) Poor fellow! Your eyes are very bad, but rum is very injurious to them.

*Moses.* I don't drink any rum; I only take Plantation Bitters for my eyes.

*Dr. B.* I suppose we must exempt this man. You can go, sir.

*Moses.* You're a gentleman and a scholar, Doctor. Yes, sir! (*moves toward the entrance, and stoops to pick up the "quarter."*)

*Capt. P.* Here, Moses Blinker, what's that?

*Moses.* A quarter, a silver quarter.

*Capt. P.* Then you saw that?

*Moses.* Saw it? of course I dzaw it. I reckon a quarter in these times would dzopen any man's eyes.

*Capt. P.* Your eyesight improves.

*Moses.* Yes, sir! If you want to open the eyes of the blind, you just dzshow 'em a quarter. If that don't open their eyes, then their eyes can't be opened.

*Capt. P.* As your sight has been thus miraculously restored, I think you may be permitted to ventilate your patriotism in the natural way, by joining the army.

*Moses.* I dzont see it, Captain.

*Capt. P.* Well, you will see it, by the time you reach Long Island. Show him out, Corporal, and admit the next one.

(*Enter Zebedee Makepeace, doubled up, holding his sides.*)

*Dr. B.* My poor man! What is the matter?

*Zeb.* Oh, Doctor, it's desperate hard to have to git off of a sick bed to come up here.

*Capt. P.* What's the matter with you?

*Zeb.* My liver's out of place. Met with an accident ten years ago.

*Capt. P.* Indeed!

*Zeb.* Yes. Oh! (*Both hands on right side.*)

*Capt. P.* Well, tell us about it. You said your liver was out of place.

*Zeb.* Yes, I've been takin' medicine for tew years naow, and I guess I've taken hard on tew

a hoss load on't. I took e'en a most half a peck of camphine.

*Dr. B.* Camphine? O, morphine!

*Zeb.* Yes; then I took two dozen bottles of Dr. Guzzlebone's patent ventilating surrup. I was some better, but I got cold—

*Capt. P.* I see; you got into the draft, and that made you worse.

*Dr. B.* What about your liver?

*Zeb.* It's out of place.

*Dr. B.* How do you know?

*Zeb.* The doctor said so.

*Dr. B.* Caused by an accident, you said. Explain how it was.

*Zeb.* Well, you see I fell off a hay maow onter a cart stake. I run the cart stake threw my diagram (*diaphragm—hands on the part.*)

*Dr. B.* Through your what?

*Zeb.* Threw my diagram; that's what the doctor called it.

*Dr. B.* Just so; I understand.

*Zeb.* That made a hole in the diagram, you see. Well, sir, my liver (*puts his hands on lower part of chest*)—the liver belongs in here; you are a doctor, and you ought to know where it belongs.

*Dr. B.* Go on: I understand you.

*Zeb.* Well, sir, my liver dropped through that hole in the diagram, and naow it's down here (*hands on right side, below false ribs.*) That's what's the matter.

*Dr. B.* (*Laughing.*) That's a very bad case.

*Zeb.* So my doctor said.

*Dr. B.* But I think you can be cured.

*Zeb.* Dew ye?

*Dr. B.* One General Devens, located upon Long Island, is the only physician I can recommend to you. He has excellent accommodations for such patients as you are.

*Zeb.* Oh! Won't you exempt me?

*Dr. B.* Certainly not.

*Capt. P.* Take care of him, Corporal. (*Corporal leads him off.*)

(*Enter Dennis Mulleary.*)

*Capt. P.* Well, what is your business with us?

*Dennis.* Is'ht me bishness.

*Capt. P.* In other words, what do you want?

*Dennis.* I want to be excused, do ye mind? I don't belahng here; I wazh barhrn in Ireland in the County of Killarny and the Parish of Ballony Fad.

*Capt. P.* Then you are a British subject.

*Dennis.* Is'ht a British soobject? Bad loock to that same! Pon me ward, thin, I'm not.

*Capt. P.* What are you then?

*Dennis.* I'm an Irishman; ivery inch of me! Sure didn't I say I was barhrn in the County of Killarny, and the Parish of Ballony Fad? Wasn't me fadther an Irishman, and wasn't me mudthar an Irishman? Didn't they both die in Ireland before I wazh barhrn? long life to 'em! And didn't I come out to this coodntry when the praties got blachk?

*Capt. P.* How long have you been in America?

*Dennis.* Siven years next Patrick's Day.

*Capt. P.* Have you been naturalized?

*Dennis.* Is'ht Dennis Mulleary! What would I be nashuralized for? Would I go paying me money away for the likes of that? Sorry one bit aiv it thin!

*Capt. P.* Haven't you taken out your first papers?

*Dennis.* What would I take out me foorsht paherpers for? Would I throw me money into the say?

*Capt. P.* All right then, Dennis. I will make out your certificate of exemption. (*Writes at the table.*)

*Dennis.* Long life to your honor, thin!

*Capt. P.* By the way, Dennis, you look like a good Republican. I presume you voted for Mr. Lincoln at the last presidential election.

*Dennis.* Is'ht me? Would I give my vout for the blackguard? Didn't he bring on thish war? and didn't he sind all the nayghers up here to take all the work away from honust min? Did Dennis Mulleary vout for sich a mahn? Faix, ye insoolt me mudthar when ye say it.

*Capt. P.* But some of us made that mistake.

*Dennis.* So ye did; but Dennis Mulleary didn't make any such mishtake; (*shaking his head.*) No sur! I didn't vout for him.

*Capt. P.* Mr. Lincoln is a very good man.

*Dennis.* Don't you belayve it!

*Dr. B.* I think you voted for him, Dennis.

*Dennis.* Is'ht me? Pon me soul, I did not, thin. Go way wid yees! What call had I to vout for a man that would turn the nayghers loose on the coodntry? (*Angrily.*) No, sur! I give my vout to Dooglas! And I'd do it again, if he wazhn't dead; long life to 'um!

*Dr. B.* You didn't vote for Douglas? (*deprecatingly.*)

*Dennis.* Pon my sowl I did, thin. But don't be bodthering me; give me me paherpers, and let me go about me business.

*Capt. P.* Dennis, you were drafted, and you must serve your adopted country in this hour of her peril. If you can vote, you can fight.

*Dennis.* Go way wid yees, and give me me paherpers.

*Capt. P.* Corporal, put him out before we have a second edition of *Donny-brook Fair* here.

(*Capt. P. and Dr. D. walk to the front.*)

*Capt. P.* This is a very large, and very respectable audience.

*Dr. B.* Very large and very respectable.

*Capt. P.* Do you suppose there are any young men here, who would like to escape the draft?

*Dr. B.* Very likely there are some.

*Capt. P.* They have seen how unsuccessful the applicants for exemption have been on this occasion. As we have had considerable experience in this business, suppose we inform them how they may escape the draft.

*Dr. B.* With the greatest pleasure.

*Capt. P.* You are the surgeon; pray, tell them.

*Dr. B.* By volunteering. (*Exeunt—music, Star Spangled Banner.*)

WHAT were the circumstances that inspired the writing of a propaganda play on the draft to be acted and read by children?

When the Civil War started with the firing on Fort Sumter in 1861, Lincoln asked for 75,000 volunteers for three months. There was no legal compulsion about it; it was an appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the North to keep the Union intact. The usual method of assigning quotas to the states was used. This procedure instead of creating a strong national army, resulted in scattered regiments of state militia or hastily created companies with no experience or training.

Again in July, 1862, Lincoln asked the states to raise 300,000 men, but even by conscripting their militia, the state drafting systems were inadequate. They could produce only about 88,000 recruits. Con-

gress, fearing that public sentiment would be against a national draft act, hesitated to take any steps in filling the ranks of the army with conscripts. However, it soon became evident early in 1863 that drastic action was necessary if the North was to win the war. Therefore Congress, putting aside its prejudices, passed the first United States conscription bill which has been the basis for all subsequent conscription legislation. It provided for the registration of all able-bodied men between the ages of twenty and forty-five, who were then subject to call for military duty of three years or for the duration of the war. Names were to be drawn by lot. Each state was to be apportioned into districts, and the President was "authorized to assign to each district the number of men to be furnished by said district . . . the President shall take into consideration the number of volunteers and militia furnished by and from the several states in which said districts are situated, and the period of their service since the commencement of the present rebellion, and shall so make said assignment as to equalize the numbers among the districts of the several states, considering and allowing for the numbers already furnished as aforesaid and the time of their service."<sup>2</sup>

The plot of our play hinges on Section 14 of the Act which reads "*And be it further enacted*, That all drafted persons shall on arriving at the rendezvous, be carefully inspected by the surgeon of the board who shall truly report to the board the physical condition of each one; and all persons drafted and claiming exemption from military duty on account of disability, or any other cause, shall present their claims to be exempted to the board, whose decision shall be final."<sup>3</sup>

IT IS rather surprising that there is no reference in the play to two controversial features of the act which caused serious

riots in New York City and elsewhere throughout the North. According to Section 13 of the Act, certain exemptions were permitted under the following circumstances: "*And be it further enacted*, That any person drafted and notified to appear as aforesaid, may on or before the day fixed for his appearance, furnish an acceptable substitute to take his place in the draft; or he may pay to such person as the Secretary of War may authorize to receive it, such sum, not exceeding three hundred dollars, as the Secretary may determine, for the procurement of such substitute; . . . and thereupon such person so furnishing the substitute, or paying the money, shall be discharged from further liability under that draft . . ."<sup>4</sup>

This provision immediately raised a great hue and cry. It was condemned as unfair to the poor. "Rich man's war and poor man's fight!" was the complaint. A poor man could not raise that amount of money, so unless he could claim exemption on some physical or mental disability or the existence of dependents, he had to go to war.

IN New York City on July 14, 1863, when the draft drawing took place, most of the names drawn were found to be mechanics and laborers. The next day, a large crowd, convinced that the draft was unjust, gathered for the rest of the drawing. A hundred names had been drawn when a pistol was fired in the street, and bricks and stones were hurled through the windows. This was a signal for more action. The mob, growing bolder, stormed into the building, drove the provost marshal and other officials away, poured turpentine on the floor and set fire to the building. The efforts of the police to restore order were met with active resistance. In fact, the crowd was now thoroughly out of hand, and began to roam around the city terrorizing and killing Negroes and abolitionists who were blamed for the war. Only the arrival of militia regiments and a force of United States infantry and cavalry together with a notice that the

<sup>2</sup> *United States Statutes at Large* (Thirty-seventh Congress, Session III, Chapter 75, 1863) Vol. XII, p. 733.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 733-34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 733.



draft had been suspended were sufficient to disperse the mob. The rioting had gone on for about four days with an estimated death toll of one thousand people, and property damage of \$1,500,000.<sup>5</sup> By August 19 the draft drawing was resumed in complete peacefulness. Similar riots, although not so intense, occurred in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and New Jersey.

THAT one of the applicants for exemption in the play is an Irishman, Dennis Muleary, brings up another interesting point. In the New York riot, Irish Americans were especially conspicuous, since they were always hostile to the Negro. To add to their dislike, Negroes had been brought in to New York to break a strike of the stevedores. This in addition to the draft led to the disastrous rioting that followed in which the Negroes suffered. Dennis Muleary apparently has reference to that very fact when he blames Lincoln for sending "all the nayghers up here to take all the work away from honust min."

It is strange that in their final plea for recruits, the provost marshal and surgeon of the play make no mention of the bounties which were offered to volunteers. This was a plan which in theory seemed to be a good idea for filling up the dwindling ranks of the army, but which in practice gave rise to all sorts of evils. Bounties were sums of money paid by national, state, and even county governments to stimulate men to join the army. For example, Rhodes<sup>6</sup> notes that in an advertisement of the New York County Volunteer Committee, the following inducements were offered:

County bounty, cash down	\$300
State bounty	75
U.S. bounty to new recruits	302
Additional to veteran soldiers	100

<sup>5</sup> Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*. (Boston: Heath, 1934), p. 526.

<sup>6</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), pp. 300-301.

making totals of \$677 or \$777, depending on experience. This was in addition to the regular soldiers' pay of \$16 per month with clothing and rations.

Bounties were not quite so high in other states. According to another authority<sup>7</sup> Massachusetts offered only \$12 relief funds per month. This was, however, in addition to the United States government bounty of \$100 provided July 22, 1861, by an act passed "to authorize the employment of volunteers to aid in enforcing the laws and protecting public property,"<sup>8</sup> and repeated in the Conscription Act of 1863 for reenlistments after the expiration of first enlistment terms. The low Massachusetts state bounty may explain why no mention of it was made in the play.

The payment of bounties led to the practice of "bounty jumping" and to the creation of "bounty-brokers." A man would enlist in one district long enough to collect the bounties. He would then desert, escape to another state, change his name and go through the same process. Records show that some men "jumped the bounty" as many as thirty-two times! Most of them were recruited among the vagabonds, thieves, and pickpockets who were tempted by the sum of money offered. Army morale was lowered by these men, most of whom, however, deserted as soon as the opportunity presented itself.

GIVEN in true minstrel-show dialogue, the last humorous suggestion in the play that men could avoid the draft by volunteering was evidently a stock joke of the times. Enlistment posters carried the tactful heading *Avoid the Draft!* in large type with suggestions below in smaller type as to places for immediate enlistment. The same idea is gaining currency today as men, without waiting to be drafted, are enlisting for the privilege of selecting the branch of the service they prefer.

<sup>7</sup> Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York: Century, 1928), p. 140.

<sup>8</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, loc. cit., p. 734.



# The Responsibility of the Teacher in Times of Crises: Four Views

## Editor's Note:

In April we published an article on "The Responsibility of the Teacher in Times of Crises" by Professor Merle Curti of Teachers College, Columbia University. The article was originally prepared as the basis for general discussion at a luncheon meeting of the national Council at Syracuse last November. Unfortunately there was no time there for any discussion from the floor.

This month we present four brief statements on Dr. Curti's treatment of a problem which he stated thus:

The problem of maintaining even some part of objectivity, of dispassionate analysis, of calm and honest thinking, has already become difficult, and every sign points to the likelihood that it will become yet harder in the days ahead.

Some, indeed, have in effect already said that any effort to be neutral before the issue of war and peace, of the American in contrast to competing ways of life, is little short of treason. But many of us still feel that the social studies teacher must find some way to promote the larger national purposes and yet at the same time keep a free mind, to search no less patiently for the facts, to analyze their meaning with no less dispassion. This is our dilemma.

Dr. Pahlow, who was discussion leader at the Syracuse session, contributes the first statement. Dr. Purcell, Mr. Hughes, and Miss West were invited to comment; some others, similarly invited, have been unable to respond. An invitation has been extended to all readers to send in brief comments for subsequent publication.

By Edwin W. Pahlow

FIRST let me try to get Dr. Curti's argument before you in language which school (and college) teachers can understand, because you may not have read his article, and because one of my colleagues (a distinguished educational philosopher) did read at it for an hour; then called for pencil and paper; made an outline of the article; then exclaimed, "Now I know even less than I did before!"

1. In par. 2, Dr. Curti asserts that, in the flag-salute case, the United States "Supreme Court has declared that no minority has any legal, or . . . moral right to reject any provisions whatever, wise or foolish, which the state makes" for the national security.

2. But, he declares, neither have we any moral right to abandon freedom (par. 5 and *passim*); so we are in a dilemma and have to choose (par. 3).

3. "If we enter fully or in part into the . . . war, we shall surely be told" that we must choose security and abandon freedom (par. 8).

4. Ought we to do so? No. If we must abandon something, let it be security, and let us stick to freedom, because thus only can we preserve the democratic process (par. 9).

5. If, however, we find any teacher who prefers security to freedom and so chooses security rather than freedom, we should kick him out, because he thereby threatens to "dislocate the process," if he actually does not dislocate that "democratic process" by that very choosing (par. 14).

Now let us look at this. If Dr. Curti had stopped with 1 and 2, we might have had a happy (even if futile) discussion at Syracuse last November, instead of just a reading of his paper and mine (which left some old friendships wrecked). Because here was a real conflict of two moral obligations, and each of us had to choose one; not one of us could have left the hall more than 50 per cent moral. This would be the intriguing proposition: If you were forced to be 50 per cent moral, wherein would you choose to be moral, in "freedom" or in "security"? What fun we might have had seeing which of our fellows showed his moral conflict on the outside, and which took it in stride.

But Dr. Curti seems to have sensed the possible unseemliness of a group of leading social studies teachers being thus on exhibition; so he shifts back and forth until it is impossible to tell whether or not there really is any dilemma, and, if there is, just what its horns are. At O.S.U. we have had veritable (but vain) Curti-dilemma hunts since last November, when I first received his paper.

But I am running ahead. Let us go back to Syracuse, each testifying to his chosen moral-

ity and getting a little bored with it, when one of those rare creatures—a teacher “from Missouri”—chirped us up by asking Dr. Curti if he had ever read the flag-salute decree, and, if so, would he please point out just where, in Mr. Justice Frankfurter’s majority opinion, the Supreme Court “declared” that we do not have “any . . . moral right to reject . . .” (see above).

Let us look at Mr. Justice Frankfurter’s opinion. What first struck me in reading it was the sensitivity and fineness of feeling manifested by the distinguished jurist towards the claims of the losing party in the matter of freedom of conscience. No one could have written as he did who was not either a clever hypocrite, or a kindly liberal of the highest degree, as far away as possible from being a promulgator of the Nazi doctrine that the individual has no moral right as against the state. Perhaps, in my admiration for the jurist’s thought and attitude, I missed something, but this I did not miss:

*The precise issue, then, before us to decide is whether the legislatures of the various states . . . are barred from determining the appropriateness of various means to evoke that unifying sentiment without which there can ultimately be no liberties, civil or religious. [Or, as Chief Justice Hughes said elsewhere (294US240), “The question before the Court is one of power, not of policy.”] The wisdom . . . is not for our . . . judgment. Even were we convinced of the folly of such a measure, such belief would be no proof of its unconstitutionality. . . . The courtroom is not an arena for debating issues of educational policy. [Italics are mine. E. W. P.]*

Is it unfair to construe this as a rather clear disavowal of the intention on the part of the Court to deal with the moral aspects of the question? Pages remain to be written even on this point, let alone on the remainder of the paper, but space forbids. I am limited to 1500-2000 words, and already half of the minimum is used up, so the best that I can do with the remainder is to continue with questions to Dr. Curti—not rhetorical questions but real ones, which I hope he will answer in the next issue of this journal (or to me personally, if he prefers that method). Most of the questions will center about the two most noteworthy aspects of his paper, namely, (a) its thinking, and (b) its attitude toward the United States Supreme Court.

1. Where you fair, Dr. Curti, to the Supreme Court in par. 2, in writing up that paragraph

as though it were an indirect-discourse version of the decision? Was it fair to speak of “the state” as though you were speaking of Hitler’s Germany and not of the United States of America?

2. Did you, Dr. Curti, mean (par. 12) that the Supreme Court of the United States does not know what “the best elements in our national traditions” are? If not, just what did you mean? In par. 13, did you mean us to infer that, if we accepted the flag-salute case, we should be giving “sanction to the totalitarian doctrine that the state can do no wrong”?

3. Going back to the “dilemma” of having to make a moral choice: you said (par. 8) “if we enter fully or in part into . . . the war, we shall surely be told that we must abandon” freedom. If the moral dilemma existed before we got into the war, why did we wait about choosing? Were we more than 50 per cent immoral, or less than 50 per cent immoral, when we chose *not* to choose either of the two moral obligations?

4. Why did you urge our American teachers to choose freedom rather than security? The only reason you gave at Syracuse was that in the “dilemma” you spoke of “method is really more important than subject matter.” Why did you cut that out last week, in galley proof (par. 8)? It was at least a reason, and some of your readers might have known what it meant. Not all, however. No one that I have been able to find at O.S.U. knows even yet.

5. Could Hitler have asked for a more blind faith than you did when you asked American teachers to cling to freedom, without even explaining what that meant, let alone why they must take that choice?

6. Are we to assume (par. 10) that the English people had a choice between freedom and security, and that they abandoned security in favor of freedom? Are conscription and food rationing accepted in the interest of security? If so, what does it mean to say that the English chose freedom?

7. Is it not true that in par. 14 you (a) not only misquoted Lincoln but did so in such a way as to put utter nonsense into Lincoln’s mouth? (“Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its people, *and* too weak to maintain its own existence?”) Doesn’t the connective have to be “or”? How can you get a “balancing” with “and” as the

particle? (b) Did you not misinterpret the part which was not misquoted; i.e., was Lincoln talking about balancing "freedom" and "discipline," as you say; or about "freedom" and "security"? (c) Even after having (a) misquoted and (b) misinterpreted Lincoln, could you not see that there never was any point at all to dragging in the already-martyred president, because the difficulty he was to clear up merely shifts from one word ("if") to another word ("balancing")?

8. You say, Dr. Curti (par. 14), "freedom . . . does involve discipline, . . . responsibility." Were you exercising "disciplined freedom" when you spoke (and wrote) as you did about the United States Supreme Court? Would you advise American teachers to follow your example? If so, will you guarantee them positions at Teachers College if they are thrown out on their necks?

9. Have I been unkind, Dr. Curti? If you will show me wherein I have been unkind, I'll submit to any penance you impose, and try to take with good grace whatever is coming to me.

10. Have you, Dr. Curti, been kind to American teachers? Just how do you think your paper can prove helpful to them in meeting "the responsibilities of teachers in times of crises"?

E. W. P.

Ohio State University

By Richard J. Purcell

**M**R. CURTI'S paper on "The Responsibility of the Teacher in Times of Crises" is a timely and courageous attempt to state the duties and proper functions of a teacher of social studies in college and more especially in secondary schools in this period of emergency in the United States and of wars abroad. He has written openly about what innumerable persons have been thinking in the quiet of their libraries and offices. While the question is controversial, he has proceeded with such cautious tact and sane moderation. There can be little criticism of his general thesis which in normal times would hardly challenge attention and arouse no controversy, unless between those who wage strife over the relative importance of method and content. Aside from his curbstome interpretation of *Minersville v. Gobitis*, there can be rather general agreement with his arguments

in favor of the maintenance of the various freedoms and the desirability of not letting democracy down in the face of hysterical prattle and ill-considered but self-righteous propaganda, domestic and foreign. And the Lincoln quotation appearing in the *Minersville* case merits deep thought and has gained added respectability by more recent presidential quotation.

Democracy, religious liberty (or more truly religious toleration), civil rights, guaranteed natural rights, freedom of election, intellectual freedom, academic freedom, and freedom of the press, despite their refusal to be defined, are included in the American way of life. They have gradually been approximated in an age-long struggle through revolts and revolutions as well as through racial, sectional, and religious conflicts and their resultant compromises. Democracy advanced when the combined minorities out-numbered the majority which profited by conformity to the general cultural pattern. It has been a slow development, and democracy in America has far to go before all men find equal opportunity in the political and economic world, before the people at large are as fair as the law and the theory of American life. There may well be a nearer approach to the theoretical catchwords of the French Revolution.

Teachers of the social studies must remain educators in the better sense. They must not be satisfied with the status quo, with democracy as it is. They must be willing to advance the political experiment in the United States as a beacon for the so-called democracies elsewhere. To do so, they should point to weaknesses in our system, to the struggling minorities, to peoples only virtually represented in our government, to the unequal distribution of wealth, to hunger in a land of agricultural surpluses, to the decline of public and private morality, to controlled conventions, machine politicians, queue thinking, and deadly conservatism. There must be reform from within to ward off reform from without. There can be no standing still.

Teachers of the living social studies must remember that democracy has grown slowly but it can die suddenly. It must be kept not merely alive but living. In time of peace, this is not difficult to preach. In time of crises and certainly in time of war, democracy tends to



become dormant and constitutional guarantees forgotten. This was true in the Revolution, in the Civil War, and in the late War. As wars become broader in scope and fought by peoples rather than by soldiers, Milton's theory can no longer hold that there should be freedom of speech even within a beleaguered town. In a totalitarian war, freedom may not be possible. Yet teachers must keep alive the ideals. Social and political advances of the past generation must not be lost. Wars end and crises disappear, and democracy must progress through a reconstruction era without having to regain too much lost ground.

The American pulpit has lost its pre-Civil War vigor. Teachers of the social studies, for good or ill, are now the preachers of social doctrines based, let us hope, on considered prudence and a reasonable interpretation of facts made available by scientific research. To do their work well, they must teach facts as facts and interpretations as opinions. They must be brave for only the brave deserve freedom, and freedom does not include license or passionate presentation of controversial issues. They may be pardoned for indoctrinating democracy and social justice. They must think less of security of tenure, and more of Justice Holmes' maintenance of the "competition of ideas in the market place." They must keep the textbooks free and the schools democratic in the face of controlled thought and smugly conformist administrations and political investigations and the censorship of their own inhibitions. They must not forget the rights of man in defending the rights of nations.

Teachers need not be radical but they should be liberal and tolerant. They must not forget that rugged individualism has done much for this nation, and that the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments have protected the rights of men as well as of property.

Teachers of social studies are more than purveyors of facts. They have a mission. They are called. They should be in the vanguard of progress. They are not servants or employees. They are the tutors of the men and women of tomorrow who will mold America and make it a guiding light in a freer world that somehow must come through these years of dictatorships, of communism, of totalitarian systems, and of wars.

R. J. P.

Catholic University of America

By R. O. Hughes

THE teacher who wishes to be true to both his conscience and his official or public duties may indeed have an awkward choice set before him at times. I am not willing to take the stand that a social studies teacher must completely remove from himself all natural human emotions and sympathies and set himself above and outside the great things that are going on in the world. Truth, we will agree, should be more significant to him even than human sympathy, but I can not bring myself to praise the attitude taken by such people as Colonel Lindbergh, for instance, to whom nothing now matters except a hardboiled kind of self-interest which has no place for appreciation or emotion.

May there not also be danger in setting up such a strict adherence to theories of what ought to be as to neglect the realities of a situation? Must we allow, in the name of democracy, any one and every one to find all the fault that he can with the efforts being made to save democracy? There are times when criticism is helpful. There must be no denial of the right to criticize when occasion warrants. But, in the name of free speech and a free press, to promote fault-finding that can have no constructive value seems to me a gross abuse of those freedoms. What advantage is there to society in encouraging individuals, old or young, to refuse to honor the flag of their country? If an individual is not willing to recognize the symbol of the authority of his country, why should he be permitted to take advantage of those services which are maintained by public expense and through taxes on those who are willing to recognize that authority?

Though I would by no means maintain the doctrine too often followed, that "the end justifies the means," I find it difficult to accept Professor Curti's declaration that "the means, freedom, is even more important than the end, democracy." If the unrestrained exercise of freedom lets anarchy loose, then both freedom and democracy will cease to have meaning. I hesitate also to agree with the assertion that "our responsibility is to discipline ourselves by refusing to accept at face value what the majority is saying." The majority at any given time may be either right or wrong, but it is wholly illogical and unintelligent to



assume that the critic is necessarily right. Professor Curti's implied commendation of the writers who found temporary popularity and profit in reflecting on the motives that took the United States into the World War does not go down well with one who, like the undersigned, found no personal gain in that war but who does remember and take pride in his own feelings and hopes with reference to our country's attitude.

The wise teacher as well as the honest one will recognize that times and circumstances must be taken into account in judging what is proper to say or to do. That fact is at least as important as adherence to an abstract ideal which, if put into operation under some circumstances, might turn out to be disastrous. No teacher can be justified in encouraging his pupils to be cynics and faultfinders. The presumption in our own country must be in favor of those who, like Washington and Lincoln and the leaders of our nation in more recent years, have had to bear the burden of policies and decisions, rather than of the armchair complainants who enjoy the privilege of a second guess and of self-assumed superiority of intellect. Freedom of thinking, yes. But restraint in speech and action unless and until we know more than most critics, free from responsibility, do know. That is the better way for a teacher and his pupils in times of crises.

R. O. H.

Pittsburgh Public Schools

### By Ruth West

THE dilemma of the conscientious teacher, discussed so ably by Mr. Curti at Syracuse, is daily growing more serious, as our official neutrality wanes, and our hates and fears wax stronger. Apparently wars must be waged at the expense of intelligent thinking. But it is hard for some of us to admit that loyalty

need demand the sacrifice of truth, or that good citizens must prove their patriotism by a blind acceptance of the status quo.

At such times, it seems to me, the teacher has an obligation to himself, to his students, and to the public—to keep reason as his guide, to preserve some measure of open-mindedness, in a world swayed by emotion. Surely we can not deny our students, under the guise of a mistaken loyalty, their right as citizens in a democracy to experience such freedom as a classroom can offer in seeking evidence, evaluating it, discussing it, formulating reasonable opinions. What untold injuries may we be doing the next generation if we permit ready-made slogans and cut-and-dried solutions to be substituted for the process of reflective thinking! What a disservice to the nation we are preparing to defend!

I like Mr. Curti's insistence on freedom as a *method*—the dynamic of democracy. (Perhaps his comparison of security to *subject matter* is less happy!) Security *with* freedom must be regarded as the goal—it is not a *regimented* brand of security that we want. England's freedom in a state of insecurity is a noble example, but we must not deceive ourselves into dreaming of an ideal John Bull, bombed in body but free in spirit. However, necessity has there come so near to bringing unanimity, that differences are rarer, and there is less question of freedom. And surely, contributing to this free spirit in England is the absence of fear, their faith in each other and in England's future. Must we pay such a heavy price to acquire that faith and so preserve freedom? Or can we find a way to continue to help young Americans *experience* freedom, at once the flower and the fruit of our democracy, without which democracy is lost?

R. W.

Lewis and Clark High School, Spokane

# Have You Read?

Wilbur F. Murra

**H**ISTORY that is written and taught only to explain the present is dangerous to historical scholarship and to American democracy, warned Robert Livingston Schuyler in an address before the American Historical Association last December. Dr. Schuyler, who is professor of history at Columbia University and editor of the *American Historical Review*, condemned specifically the efforts of "progressive educators and the new historians" to discredit the work of the historical scholar "who has permitted himself to become really interested in the past" and to focus the school curriculum exclusively on "background history." The address is published in the April issue of the *Political Science Quarterly*.

"Background history" is said to sin against scholarship by resort to oversimplification and anachronism. Its danger to democracy is argued by drawing a parallel between the eagerness with which the democracies cultivate and encourage the use of history as an explanation of the present and the fascist philosophers who by carrying this trend to its ultimate end have the present create the past in its own image.

Understanding the present is a legitimate and praiseworthy objective of historical study, declares Dr. Schuyler. But, he warns, exclusive preoccupation with the single purpose of writing history only to explain the morning headlines may soon mean that any other kind of history will cease to be written. He insists that scholars who study the past without reference to the present also make valuable contributions. "These laborious and derided grubbers in the records of the past, dry-as-dust as many of them may have been, have quietly and un-

tentatively made fundamental reconstructions in our historical views and conceptions, correcting in detail and in gross our understanding of past events and institutions."

Dr. Schuyler pleads for a place for basic historical scholarship on the grounds that it is bound up with the liberal tradition. "The condition of its existence is a willingness on the part of society to let queer people do useless things (useless, that is, from the standpoint of immediate social utility) . . . . If the liberal tradition, and with it social tolerance, perishes from the earth, this type of history will perish with it."

## FOREIGN TRADE MALADJUSTMENTS

**T**HE difficult subject of United States foreign trade is so clearly handled in an article in *Events* for March entitled "Our Artificial War Trade" that high school juniors and seniors should readily understand it. The author, Jerome B. Cohen, covers more than his title indicates. He explains first of all the striking abnormalities of our overseas commerce during the past two years and then points to the future with a warning that the difficulties which will beset our foreign trade in the post-war period will not be unlike those which plagued it for a decade before 1939.

The total volume of United States exports during 1940 rose 20 per cent over the preceding year to exceed four billion dollars—greater than in any year since 1929. Nevertheless, *agricultural* exports declined from the preceding year and were lower during the winter just past than at any time since 1869. The principal single export item in 1940 was airplanes! Critical for our

national economy are the unexported farm surpluses we are currently accumulating and the prospect of overbuilding our war industries. Also ominous is our \$1,397,000,000 "favorable" balance of trade.

The current expansion of our trade with the British Empire is obviously artificial and temporary because it is composed so largely of armaments. Less obvious, but equally artificial and temporary, says Dr. Cohen, is the expansion of general trade with South America. South America exports naturally compete with those from North America, so we won't buy them—as recent Congressional opposition to purchase of Argentine beef illustrates. But if we don't buy, we can't sell. Given this impasse in the Western Hemisphere, Dr. Cohen predicts that Europe will best the United States in the markets of southern South America after the war regardless of who wins.

#### HOPE FOR LATIN AMERICAN TRADE

WHEREAS Jerome Cohen in the article reviewed above sees little hope for permanently increasing our commercial intercourse with South America, John W. Evans says "it can be done" in the Spring number of the *Yale Review*. He protests against "the half truth that the production of South America and that of the United States are essentially parallel and that any attempt to stimulate more trade between them would be to fly in the face of economic law."

We not only can increase our Latin-American trade, but, says Mr. Evans, we must; and we *will* only when we learn that we must. We must do so for reasons of defense and politics, to which ends economic policy must be subordinated. That is, if we are to keep the Nazis out of South America, given an Axis victory in Europe, we must offer South Americans more economic advantages than Germany can. What we must offer, above all else, is markets for their products. It is far more important to hemisphere defense for us to buy from Latin Americans than to sell to them. Mr.

Evans contends that our governmental leaders realize this although the public doesn't—yet. Once it is fully realized, the United States should, he urges, act for its own basic defense by adopting a comprehensive policy of closer economic solidarity in the Western Hemisphere.

For one thing, we must loan money to build up those industries in South America which will produce what we will buy—rather than to loan in order to create purchasing power for our products, which is the present practice. For another, we must lower our tariffs on many South American export products, even though this obliges us to "seize from some fairly small groups of our marginal domestic producers the special privileges which have enabled them to compete successfully with more economical production below the Amazon."

#### TNEC REPORTS

ONE of the most important governmental investigations of recent years finished its work on March 31, when the Temporary National Economic Committee submitted to Congress the report of its three-year study of the American economy. The committee, headed by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney and composed of six members of Congress—Republicans, New Dealers, and conservative Democrats—and ten other experts, has sometimes been called the Anti-Monopoly Committee. But that label is misleading, for the committee devoted itself to the broadest range of matters. Its numerous findings were coupled with specific recommendations carrying far-reaching implications for government and business.

The finding that so large a proportion of our national wealth is concentrated in so small a number of corporations and individuals was followed by a recommendation for tightening anti-trust laws and prohibiting mergers of big business except by government approval. Evidence that patents were used to enhance monopoly, restrict production, and fix prices, led the

committee to urge new legislation which would make any new patent available to all who would be willing to pay a fair price.

The TNEC discovered what it believed to be inadequate state regulation of insurance companies and undue concentration of defense contracts in the hands of a small group of corporations. Decentralization of industry was strongly favored.

Perhaps the most drastic recommendation in the report—and one in which four committee members dissented—is that which would oblige all corporations involved in interstate business to secure their corporate charters from the federal government rather than from the several state governments, as at present. Says the report: "The task of democracy is to preserve the freedom and independence of the individual in this economic and political complexity . . . . The simple way to do this is to provide a national rule for the national corporations that carry on national commerce."

The committee urges that the adoption of its recommendations would "restrain the continued progress of concentration which so obviously is undermining the foundations of both free enterprise and free government." It insists, however, that its recommendations "are not intended to expand the power of government over business or over the individual." Rather, they "are intended to enable the individual to maintain himself freely, both economically and politically."

The report is entitled *Concentration of Economic Power: The Challenge to Democracy*. It was summarized as a five-page feature in the newspaper *PM* (New York), by Nathan Robertson.

#### KORIZIS

**A**N illuminating sketch of Alexander Korizis, successor to the late General Metaxas of Greece, is given in the *March Living Age*. The rotund, volcanic, cynical, soldier-dictator was briefly followed by an aristocratic, genteel, social-minded, cul-

tured businessman, president of the National Bank of Greece, expert executive, former minister of hygiene and public assistance. In the latter post he created Greece's first social security plan. Prior to occupying this cabinet position, he had interested himself in cooperatives among the farmers and had organized the Agricultural Bank of Greece.

Though schooled in the skills of peacetime leadership, the Grecian banker was called to the premiership of a country at war. This was not the tragic trick of history that it may appear to be on the surface, as Metaxas had unified the country and mobilized its war strength. Korizis had the support and trust of the people to a degree never awarded the more colorful, dynamic Metaxas. The promise of his intelligence, experience, and ability to pick expert advisers was denied him by war and untimely death.

#### WATCHING RUSSIA

**R**USSIA in 1941 deserves more attention from Americans than she is getting, for Russia is playing a shrewd game to try to "win the war by default" and may succeed. At any rate, Soviet influence on the future course of events in Europe and Asia is bound to be very great; and we can ignore that prospect only at our peril. So we are warned by two of the most astute observers of Russian affairs who are writing in America today: Henry C. Wolfe, who predicted the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 two months in advance, and William Henry Chamberlin, for many years Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and author of several books on the U.S.S.R. Mr. Wolfe contributed "Keep an Eye on Russia" to the April issue of *Harper's Magazine*, and Mr. Chamberlin wrote on "Stalin in the War" for the Spring number of the *Yale Review*.

The close parallels between the interpretations of the two writers make their common case doubly convincing. "Who wins or loses the war matters little to the Soviets if



it is a long, exhausting war," says Mr. Wolfe. "Stalin has no fixed post-war blueprint," adds Mr. Chamberlin; his one aim is "to let the belligerents wear themselves out." Russia, thus, is not to be reckoned as either pro-Axis or anti-Axis. She may be expected to help Germany more if the Nazis are threatened with defeat and withdraw help if decisive German victory appears imminent. Mr. Wolfe observes that the relations between the Nazis and Soviets are not based on friendship. "It is," he says, "the relationship of gangsters plotting robberies and the division of loot. The gangsters do not trust each other; their guns are loaded. Still the partners know that there will be more plunder to divide if they work together. They will continue to work together just as long as it is mutually profitable."

TWO years ago Russian troops were engaged in full-fledged fighting with Japanese troops on the Mongolian border. Today we hear much of the fact that Russia and Japan are both collaborating with the Axis powers and predictions are rife that the traditional enemies of east Asia will soon ally openly with one another. Commentators have been quick to elaborate on these predictions and point to them as proof of the inconstancy and inscrutability of Russian policy in the Far East. With these commentators Harriet Moore takes issue in the March 12 *Far Eastern Survey*.

Whatever may becloud the policy of the Soviets in Europe, their policies in the Orient are open to easier analysis, says Miss Moore. She then specifies: "One of the most striking facts that emerges from a study of the position of the U.S.S.R. in relation to the Far Eastern situation during the last eighteen months is that it has changed so little. Soviet objectives have continued to be formulated as, first, avoiding involvement in a major war, second, aiding China in her struggle for national independence."

It is Japan who has wavered and reversed

herself. Just after the Nazi-Soviet agreement of August 23, 1939, Japan objected that Germany had violated the Anti-Comintern Pact and for her own part declared that she would continue to oppose Russia and would stay aloof from the European situation. But this position has not been maintained. After the German successes in Europe last summer, Japan decided she had better get on the bandwagon too, and so entered the tripartite agreement with the Axis in September. Simultaneously, Tokyo began that courtship of Moscow which provided the basis for the many rumors of Russo-Japanese collaboration. Miss Moore insists, however, that Japan is the suitor and points to the cumulative record of recent small concessions which Japan has made to Russia on the matters of trade, fisheries, oil concessions in Sakhalin, and border demarcation. All this smacks of appeasement, but the bear is not biting at the bait. As pro-Russian rumors spreading from Tokyo have brought censure on the Japanese, it is only fair to point out that Nippon is not alone in her unrequited wooing of the Soviets, for Great Britain and the United States have been trying the same thing!

#### THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

SIDNEY B. FAY began in the April issue of *Events* a series of articles on "Problems of Peace Settlement." The difficulty of dealing with this subject at this time, when all forecasts of the future are beclouded by uncertainty and based on conjecture, is well recognized by the author. And yet, if anyone is to prepare us for this kind of future problem, certainly Dr. Fay is admirably qualified by reason of his historical scholarship, his experience in working for the United States delegation to the 1919 Peace Conference, and his writing of *The Origins of the World War*. The current series begins with identification of the kinds of problems and issues which will confront the peacemakers at the conclusion of the present conflict. History teachers will do well to follow this important series.

# Notes and News

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## National Council at Boston

When the National Education Association meets at Boston during the week beginning June 29, there will be four sessions of the National Council for the Social Studies, meeting as the NEA's Department of Social Studies.

Monday afternoon at 3:15 a session will be held in collaboration with the Department of Secondary Teachers at Boston Teachers College. Nelle Bowman, Tyler Kepner, and R. O. Hughes will discuss the topic, "A Changing Curriculum to Meet the Needs of Secondary School Students."

Tuesday at 2:00 P.M. the Council will meet jointly with the National Association of Secondary School Principals to hear classroom teachers and administrators discuss how "The School Interprets Democracy."

Wednesday noon will be held the annual summer luncheon, at the Faculty Club of Harvard University. An attractive program is being arranged. Tickets will be \$1.20 apiece and should be reserved in advance by writing to Howard B. Wilder, 20 Orient Avenue, Melrose, Massachusetts.

On Wednesday afternoon, the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Geography Teachers will meet together in the Institute of Geographical Exploration at Harvard.

The committee of the Council which is in charge of both program and local arrangements consists of: Howard B. Wilder, High School, Melrose, Massachusetts, chairman; Mildred E. Bassett, Rhode Island College of Education; Harry D. Berg, University of New Hampshire; Tyler Kepner, High School, Brookline, Massachusetts; Horace Kidger, High School, Newton, Massachusetts; Victor Pitkin, Parker Junior High School, Reading, Massachusetts; John O'Laughlin, High School, Somerville, Massachusetts, and Howard E. Wilson, Harvard Graduate School of Education.

During the convention, headquarters for social studies teachers will be the NCSS room (No. 574) in the Statler Hotel.

For further information, write to any of the committee members or to the secretary's office. Complete printed programs will be sent on request after June 1.

## New England

*The New England History Teachers' Association* held its annual spring meeting in cooperation with the Rhode Island Social Studies Association at Providence on March 22. All sessions were devoted to "The Place of the Study of Latin America in Our Educational Program." Separate sectional meetings dealt with distinctive problems of elementary school and high school and college levels. At a general session the speakers included Leland H. Jenks of Wellesley College, Edith Helman of Simmons College, and Vincent A. McKivergan of Providence Central High School. The luncheon meeting was addressed by Eduardo Azuola of Boston College. A special feature of the meeting was an exhibit of teaching materials for elementary and junior high schools. The next meeting of the Association will be held at Boston University on November 1, with the probable theme "The Study of the Far East."

*The New England Council for the Social Studies* will hold its first semi-annual meeting in Boston on the afternoon of May 9 and the morning of May 10, with meetings of interest to all grade levels.

*The Connecticut Social Studies Teachers Association* met at New Britain on March 29. Arthur B. Darling of Andover Academy spoke on "Historical Perspective and the Present Crisis." A panel discussion on "The Social Studies and National Unity" was led by William Gruhn of Storrs; Ruth Crockett of Bristol; and J. R. Rackley, J. B. Johnson, and Edwin Coddington of New Britain. Samuel Meyers of Waterbury was elected president for the coming year. Also elected were Palmer Howard of New Britain, vice-president; Elizabeth Kane of Waterbury, secretary; and Hillis Pettengill of West Haven, treasurer.

### Middle States

*The Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers* held its annual spring meeting on April 25 and 26 in Philadelphia, with program as announced here last month.

*The Association of Teachers of Social Studies of New York City* met on March 15 at the College of the City of New York to hear a talk on textbook investigations by Harold O. Rugg of Columbia University. Discussion was led by Samuel Steinberg. On May 17, at the Hotel New Yorker, Louis M. Hacker will address the annual luncheon meeting.

*The Long Island Social Studies Teachers Association* heard Mildred McChesney, New York State director of social studies, on March 25; it will hear F. Dean McClusky on visual education at the next meeting, May 22.

*The Maryland State History Teachers Association* will meet at Carvel Hall, Annapolis, on May 10. The principal speaker will be Owen Lattimore, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, on "The Influence of Asia on the European War."

### Southern States

*The Social Studies Department of the North Carolina Education Association* met in Asheville, April 4 and 5. Walter Myer of Washington spoke on "American Democracy and the Social Studies." F. Edgar Thomas of Greensboro reported on a questionnaire survey of the interests and problems of social studies teachers in the state. Steps were taken to expand the activities of the organization: a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and tentative plans were made for a special meeting next fall. Martha Craddock of Roanoke Rapids was reelected president, and Mrs. R. W. Morris of Shelby was chosen as secretary.

*The Georgia Council for the Social Studies* met on April 11 in Augusta as a department of the Georgia Education Association. A panel discussion on "Democracy in the Classroom" was led by J. F. Allums of Atlanta, and one on "Ways of Improving the Social Studies Curriculum" by Mary Lee Anderson of Milledgeville.

*The Social Studies Department of the Alabama Education Association* at Birmingham on March 29 heard Earl Kalp of Des Moines, Iowa, describe a program of education for democracy.

*The Social Studies Section of the Tennessee Education Association* met in Nashville on April 11-12.

*The Kentucky Council for the Social Studies* held its annual spring meeting at Louisville, April 16-17, with Edgar B. Wesley of Minneapolis and Ralph Ramsay of Atlanta as speakers.

### The Old Northwest

Howard E. Wilson, of Harvard University, recently spoke at four meetings of social studies teachers in the Middle West: the *Lincoln-Douglas Council for the Social Studies* at Springfield, Illinois, on March 29; the social studies teachers of Indianapolis on April 1; the *Terre Haute Council for the Social Studies* on April 2; and the *Cincinnati Social Studies Teachers Association* on April 3.

*The Social Studies Association of Northeastern Ohio* met at Akron on April 18.

*The Metropolitan Detroit Social Studies Club* heard Bertita Harding, novelist and traveler, speak on South America at its March 20 meeting.

*The Southwestern Michigan Social Studies Association* devoted its April 5 meeting at Kalamazoo to "National Defense and the Social Studies."

*The Ouitatenon Council for the Social Studies* held its first program meeting on April 11 at West Lafayette, Indiana, with a session devoted to exchange of ideas on classroom methods with a display of materials developed by teachers in the group, which is headed by Ellis Hopkins of West Lafayette High School.

*The Fort Wayne Academy of the Social Sciences* on April 17 held a special meeting which had been jointly arranged in collaboration with the Indiana Council for the Social Studies and the public relations committee of the National Council. The principal speaker was A. Y. King of Cleveland, whose topic was "Adapting Radio to the Classroom."



*The Indiana Council for the Social Studies* held its third annual meeting in Indianapolis on April 10. Speakers at the general session on "Preparing Social Studies Teachers for Service in a Democracy" were Dean Phillip Bail of Butler University and I. O. Foster of Indiana University. At the luncheon meeting Robert Wyatt, secretary of the Indiana State Teachers Association, brought social studies teachers up to date on state legislation as it affects their field of instruction, and John Haramy of Indiana Central College spoke on "Which Way Europe?" During the afternoon a section meeting on the secondary-school curriculum was led by Meribah Clark of Terre Haute and Russell McNutt of Muncie; while another was devoted to elementary social studies, under the leadership of Blanche Fuqua and Joy M. Lacey of Terre Haute, Ruth Strickland of Bloomington, and Mrs. Grace A. Granger of Indianapolis.

*The Illinois Council for the Social Studies* held its annual spring meeting at Peoria on April 18-19, with emphasis on civic education.

### Western States

*The Minnesota Council for the Social Studies*, one of the first state councils to be established, was revived on March 14-15 after a period of inactivity. The occasion was the spring conference on the social studies held annually at the University of Minnesota. On the conference program were James A. Michener of Colorado State College of Education, Ella Hawkinson of Moorhead State Teachers College, Theodore C. Blegen, and Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota. Elected president of the Minnesota Council was Theodore Estabrook of Faribault High School.

*The Missouri Council for the Social Studies* considered "Education for Democracy and Defense" at its annual spring conference in Jefferson City on April 12. Isabel S. Dolch of Central High School, St. Louis, led a panel discussion after a general session had heard addresses by the state superintendent of schools and the president of the state teachers' association.

*The Omaha Social Studies Teachers Association* on April 1 heard their local Superintendent of Schools, Hobart M. Corning, speak on

"The Investigation of Social Studies Textbooks, a Sign of the Times."

*The Nebraska History Teachers' Association* held its twenty-ninth annual meeting in Lincoln on April 17, 18, and 19. The main feature of the program was a series of five addresses by Robert B. Mowat of Bristol University, England, on the war and on British-American relations. There was also a session on "Some Approaches to Local History," with discussion led by Meroe Outhouse of Stanton, Bertie Hoag of Benson, and James C. Olson of Lincoln.

*The Dallas District Council for the Social Studies* at a recent meeting heard Eugene L. Aten discuss "Mental Hygiene: a High School Problem." The spring number of the *Social Studies Bulletin*, published by the Council featured Pan-American relations.

### Economic History Association

A new scholarly organization in the social sciences was established last December at meetings in New York and New Orleans. It is the Economic History Association. On the council of the new Association are representatives of the previously established Agricultural History Society, the Business History Society, and the Industrial History Society. In addition to an independent meeting each September, sessions will be held at Christmas time with both the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association. The next meeting will be held on September 5-6 at Princeton, New Jersey.

*The Economic History Journal*, scheduled to appear semi-annually with its first issue out last month, is the official organ, with E. A. J. Johnson of New York University as editor.

First president of the Association is Edwin F. Gay of the Huntington Library, Pasadena, California. Dues (\$3.00 a year; \$2.00 to graduate students) are payable to the secretary, Shepard B. Clough of Columbia University.

### Institutes of National Government

Two Institutes of National Government were held in Washington this spring in accordance with plans announced in these columns last October. So successful were these first ventures that at their conclusion an ex-



panded program for 1942 was announced by the director, Henry M. Willard, in the name of the sponsoring organization, the National Capital School Visitors Council.

The Institute for Secondary Students, held March 4-10, brought together in Washington 220 students representing sixty-five high schools from Maine to Mississippi. The students made an intensive study of the federal government at work, including conferences with Claude Wickard, Felix Frankfurter, Joseph Martin, and other government officials.

The Institute for Social Studies Teachers, held April 7-14, studied national defense for four days and spent three more on national resources. More than fifty teachers attended.

### Conferences on Economic Education

The Third National Conference on Consumer Education was held at Stephens College, April 7-9. Special features included a symposium on adapting the school program to the specific needs of the kind of community it is located in, whether urban, suburban, or rural, and a session on the consumer and national defense. *Proceedings* of the Conference will be published and may be obtained at a nominal cost from the sponsoring organization, the Institute for Consumer Education, Columbia, Missouri.

A conference on "The New Economic Education" will be held June 26-27 at the University of Chicago, with leaders from all over the nation participating. Topics to be discussed include the problems of teaching controversial economic questions, the relation of economic education to the personal adjustment of the individual, and classroom materials. A complete program may be obtained from G. H. Brown, University of Chicago.

### Regionalism

From the beginning of its existence, the Tennessee Valley Authority has employed expert research workers to gather and analyze information pertaining to the Tennessee Valley as a region, with special emphasis on its natural resources and related social and economic problems. Meanwhile, educational workers were concerned with problems of public education in the area and with the

special problem of training TVA workers. In order to utilize the research findings in the educational program an "Advisory Panel" of research workers and teachers was established in 1939 with Ellis F. Hartford as executive secretary. In the past two years a large volume of instructional materials and bibliographical guides has been prepared, collected, and distributed. Most of these are available without charge. Teachers in other parts of the country who are interested in regionalism, resources, or the TVA itself are invited to write for these materials to Mr. Hartford, care of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee. Among the free items available are: *Forests and Human Welfare*, a pictorial booklet; *Soil, the Nation's Basic Heritage*, a 60-page illustrated booklet; *Resources and Planning*, a general bibliography; and *The Southeast: Social and Economic Conditions*, a bibliography.

In an effort to stimulate the study of regionalism and resources in teacher-training programs, the National Association of Supervisors of Student Teaching last August sponsored a traveling seminar in the Tennessee Valley. A description of the project, with excerpts from addresses delivered and information studied, has been published in a 24-page illustrated booklet entitled *A Venture in Teacher-Education in the Study of a Region*, available for 25 cents from J. W. Carrington, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois.

The Pacific Northwest is also utilizing the concept of regionalism in its school instruction. Some elementary school practices in this field are described in the *Curriculum Journal* for March in an article entitled "Seattle Children Study Their Region."

New England teachers who wish to study or teach about their region will find extensive help in a new publication of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, entitled "A Bibliography on the New England Region, Selected and Annotated for Teachers of the Social Studies, and a List of Unit Titles, Suggested as Possibilities for Social Studies Units on New England." It was prepared by Royce H. Knapp under the direction of Howard E. Wilson. It includes twelve general items on regionalism and education, 113 books, articles, and pamphlets on New England, twenty-eight

items for pupil reading, a directory of twenty sources of free or inexpensive materials, and thirty suggested unit titles. Mimeographed, 16 pages, 10 cents. Order from Dr. Wilson, 13 Lawrence Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge.

### Citizenship Recognition Day

Sunday, May 18, will be observed as Citizenship Recognition Day, in accordance with a resolution passed by Congress. The observance is intended primarily for the 2,500,000 young people who reach voting age each year. It aims to give this group a new sense of idealism and purpose in their citizenship. For further information, write to Joy Elmer Morgan, National Education Association, Washington.

### For Teaching Defense

*A Selective Bibliography of Pamphlet Material Related to the Defense of Democracy* by Newton Rodeheaver consists of six mimeographed pages, was prepared in March, 1941, and is available for 5 cents from the Social Studies Workshop, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The American Association for Adult Education during the past year has undertaken a systematic program for disseminating information about the national defense effort and for improving public morale. On the one hand it works through meetings of regional and community councils on adult education, and on the other hand it has initiated three new series of publications. The latter will also be useful for secondary school pupils. One is a periodical, of which three numbers have appeared to date, entitled *Community Councils in Action*, reporting news of local activity by lay citizen groups (15 cent per copy). *Defense Papers* contains in each issue six to eight short, readable articles on defense topics accompanied by study aids and pictures; eight issues published to date (15 cents each). *Defense Digests* are pamphlets for more serious study, each *Digest* being devoted to a single topic; among the twelve topics so far announced are: "Freedom of Assembly," "Propaganda: Fact or Fiction?" "Women and Defense," and "Your Town and Defense" (10 cents each). All prices are subject to discounts for quantities. For complete information, write to the

Association, 60 East 42nd Street, New York.

The Educational Policies Commission has published a packet of six pamphlets on the defense of democracy, written by Howard E. Wilson, Allen Y. King, Stanley Dimond, R. O. Hughes, Harry Bard, and others. Three are pupil units (on democracy, defense, and education, respectively); one is a manual for leaders of student organizations; one is a book of readings from current sources; and one is for teachers (entitled *Suggestions for Teaching American History in the Present Emergency*). The price is \$1.00 per set of six; not sold separately.

The Commission will also send free on request various mimeographed bibliographies, film guides, and a unit on defense as taught at Wooster, Ohio. Write for complete list of available materials. Address 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington.

### Curriculum Aids

*A Social Studies Guide for Teachers*, a publication of the Curriculum Laboratory of the University of Oregon, includes a discussion of philosophy, current practices, and specific procedures for developing a twelve-year program (price 40 cents). Other publications from the same source of use to curriculum workers are: *Units of Work*, containing source readings and references on selecting, developing, teaching, and evaluating units of work (price 35 cents); and *Planning and Teaching Curriculum Units* (price 25 cents). All three publications are mimeographed and may be purchased from the University Cooperative Store, Eugene, Oregon.

### Geography Helps

Elementary school teachers in Nebraska, particularly from small towns and rural schools, during the past school year have been systematically exchanging information on their ways of teaching geography (with some attention to other social studies). The medium has been the mimeographed *Bulletin of the Nebraska Council of Geography Teachers*, each issue of which has been written entirely by teachers. Typical of the topics included are: "Soil," "What Did the Pupils Learn on a Field Excursion?" and "A Unit on Colonial Life." All five *Bulletins* issued during the year may be obtained for 25 cents from Virginia Thurtle, 1459 Plum Street, Lincoln.

### Social Travel

In social travel, unlike sightseeing, "investigators purposefully explore selected institutions and ways of living in order to understand better the people and their problems," writes William Van Til in his editorial foreword to the February issue of *Educational Method*. The entire issue is devoted to means of making social travel educationally effective. Articles by Verna Carley and Edward G. Olsen tell of its use in specific teacher-training projects. Marvin Rife urges the importance of field trips for school children as fundamental learning exercises. Eldon W. Mason reports the annual trips taken by pupils from a Minneapolis high school who go into another community and study it in comparison with their own. The series concludes with some vivid accounts of "Youth Hosteling" by Justin J. Cline.

Another account of youth hosteling, with high school pupils, is that of William Van Til in *Progressive Education* for February.

### Americans' American History

A recent issue of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* contains a paragraph by Henry F. May, Jr., which the author says contains "the sum knowledge of the average . . . American concerning American history."

First a succession of heroic explorers and colonists were led to these savage shores by Providence and destiny. They underwent a series of rather boring hardships and drew up a lot of important but complicated charters. The King started to oppress them, so of course they made a revolution and that entailed a constitution. The government went along very well for a while in the hands of a succession of great orators, and the country grew much larger. Suddenly people saw that slavery was wicked and started a Civil War, in which the South fought better, but the North was right. After that American history becomes extremely confused, and the main things to remember are that a lot of immigrants kept coming, and that the country grew richer and richer very fast. Everybody knows this story, knowing it better won't get you a job, and obviously there are more interesting things to study.

Is Mr. May correct?

### Planning for Indianapolis

Roy A. Price of Syracuse University, chairman of the program committee for the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, announces that plans for the several sessions are progressing en-

couragingly. The chief innovation of the 1941 program will be the devotion of Friday afternoon to a large number of small-group seminars, where all present may participate in exchange of ideas on practical classroom problems. As it will probably be necessary to limit the attendance at each of these seminars, persons wishing to attend should watch for the announcement concerning reservations which will appear in the October issue of *Social Education*.

Preliminary programs for the three-day meeting will be mailed late in September to the entire membership, as will the final program in November, which will also contain the annual reports of officers and committees. To be placed on the mailing list so as to secure the preliminary program, non-members should write to the secretary's office, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington.

Hotel reservations may be sent direct to the Hotel Claypool (convention headquarters) or to the Hotel Lincoln (which is directly across the street from the Claypool). Rates at both hotels begin at \$3.00 single and \$4.00 double. In requesting reservations be sure to state that you plan to attend the NCSS convention.

The Local Arrangements Committee is as follows:

Paul Seehausen, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, chairman; Phillip Bail, Christopher Coleman, Helen Elliott, Edgar Forsythe, Lewis Gilfoyle, John Haramy, C. T. Malan, DeWitt Morgan, Robert Wyatt, William Evans, and J. C. Weigel, Indianapolis;

Kenneth B. Thurston and I. O. Foster, Bloomington; Opal Humphreys, Aurora; Andrew W. Cordier, Manchester; Frances Taylor, Hammond; Walter A. Bauer, Valparaiso; William A. Butcher, South Bend; Louis Sears, Lafayette, Joseph Dienhart, Rensselaer;

Ethel Ray, Meribah Clark, and Hallie Smith, Terre Haute; Robert LaFollette and Russell McNutt, Muncie; Ruth Corbin, Morocco; Willis Richardson, Fort Wayne; Melba Smith, Goshen; and I. George Blake, Franklin.

### Civil Liberties Publications

Each member of the National Council for the Social Studies will soon receive two publications: Bulletin No. 16, *The Teaching of Civil Liberties*, a source unit by Howard E. Wilson and others; and *A Case Book on Civil Liberties*, containing reading materials for high school pupils, by Louis E. Frechtling. It is impossible at this time to state the exact publication date, nor is it definitely decided whether the two booklets will be issued to-



gether or on different dates. Since one or both of them may be mailed during the summer vacation, all members who will not be at their present address during that time should make arrangements with the local postmaster either to forward or hold fourth-class mail.

### From the NCSS Secretary

I wish to thank the 240 persons who replied to the form letter which I sent to all members in February. Your suggestions, compliments, and criticisms have been greatly appreciated. So also have been your cooperation in telling other teachers about the Council and the more than one hundred memberships which you sent in. May you keep up the good work! I regret that the volume of your response has prevented me from writing each of you individually.

WILBUR F. MURRA

### Recent Magazine Articles on Teaching the Social Studies

- Bode, Boyd. "Educating for Democracy," *School and Society*, LIII:152, February 1, 1941. (Reprinted in *Education Digest*, March, 1941.) A distinguished educational philosopher objects to overuse of the phrase "educating for democracy," lest we defeat our own ends.
- Brown, Ralph Adams, and Coulter, Kenneth C. "Keep Away from Our War!" *Clearing House*, XV:327-29, February, 1941. A warning "to teachers of all subjects other than social studies to keep their hands completely off the war. It belongs to the latter group, exclusively!"
- Greenwood, Roy. "How We Use the Town Meeting of the Air," *New York State Education*, XXVIII:430-31, 486-88, March, 1941. A radio program is used to stimulate interest of high school freshmen in contemporary problems.
- Hochstein, Joshua. "Greater America," *Secondary Education*, X:31-35, February, 1941. Suggestions from several sources for teaching inter-American relations.
- Keohane, Robert E. "Selected References on Secondary-School Instruction: The Social Studies," *School Review*, XLIX:135-39, February, 1941. Thirty-one annotated references for the year 1940.
- Malin, James C., and Pringle, Annabel. "Status of History and other Social Studies in Kansas High Schools," *Kansas Teacher*, LIX:20-21, 26, March, 1941. Report based on survey of 200 schools. Results: almost complete disappearance of two-year European history course; almost universal inclusion of world history; citizenship course replacing community and social civics; increased inclusion of sociology course; addition of courses in international relations and vocations.
- Meade, Mary E. "The High School Student's Concept

of Democracy," *High Points*, XXIII:5-11, February, 1941. Quotations from papers by New York City pupils on "What Democracy Means to Me." In general, pupils ignored the unselfish essence of the democratic concept.

Newburn, Harry K. "Education for Life in a Democracy," *School Review*, XLIX:256-66, April, 1941. Stresses obligation of education to discipline youth in fundamental character values as being more important than training them to meet immediate problems.

Pease, Marion O. "English Errors in Social Studies Notebooks," *Elementary English Review*, XVIII:47-51, February, 1941. Correlation of English and social studies on the seventh-grade level.

Perlman, Herbert. "Basic Tools in the Social Studies," *High Points*, XXIII:50-52, February, 1941. An analysis of the first unit of a proposed civics syllabus for New York City schools, showing how it will help in teaching study skills.

Polishook, William M. "Economic Geography in a World at War," *Journal of Business Education*, XVI:29-30, February, 1941. A plea for the inclusion of economic geography in the social studies curriculum.

Quillen, James, and Krug, Edward. "The Stanford Social Education Investigation," *Educational Method*, XX:323-27, March, 1941. A progress report.

"Round Table on Problems in the Teaching of Economics," *American Economic Review*, XXX:416-21, February, 1941. Abstracts of three papers and discussion at last December's meeting of the American Economic Association. Attention is directed primarily to the college level.

Snedaker, Mabel. "How Arts and Crafts Contribute to Social Insights," *Childhood Education*, XVII:303-306, 334, March, 1941. Contributions to beginners' experiences in organization, creative expression, understandings, and attitudes.

Swan, Augusta M. "Democracy in the Kindergarten," *Childhood Education*, XVII:318-20, March, 1941. Stresses significance for learning democracy in commonplace experiences of young children.

Wrightstone, J. Wayne. "Let's Measure Our Social Studies," *Indiana Teacher*, LXXXV: 187-207, February, 1941. Stresses importance of relating evaluation to objectives and describes some new evaluation techniques.

*Readers are invited to send in items—programs and accounts of meetings, curriculum changes and classroom experiments, or personal items of general interest—for "Notes and News." Items for October should be sent in by September 1. Send to W. F. Murra, 1201 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington.*

Contributors to this issue include Harry Bard, Don Castleberry, Flora Gunnerson, E. F. Hartford, Lorine Higginbotham, Saul Israel, Elizabeth Kane, Horace Kidger, Mary Parker, Carrie Roberts, H. W. Robey, Paul Seehausen, Frank E. Sorenson, F. E. Thomas, K. B. Thurston, H. B. Wilder.



# Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

## Radio

Only programs of special value for the social studies are listed. All times are Eastern Standard. The abbreviation NBC stands for National Broadcasting Company; CBS for the Columbia Broadcasting System; and MBS for the Mutual Broadcasting System.

### Sundays

- 11:30-12:00 NOON "Music and American Youth" NBC-Red  
1:00- 1:15 P.M. "I'm an American" NBC-Blue  
1:30- 2:00 P.M. "On Your Job" NBC-Red  
2:00- 2:15 P.M. "American Pilgrimage" NBC-Blue  
3:00- 3:30 P.M. "The Americas Speak" MBS  
4:30- 5:00 P.M. "Pageant of Art" NBC-Red  
8:00- 8:45 P.M. "American Forum of the Air" MBS

### Mondays

- 3:45- 4:00 P.M. "Columbia Lecture Hall" CBS  
6:00- 6:15 P.M. "Citizens All" NBC-Red  
10:30-11:00 P.M. "National Radio Forum" NBC-Blue

### Tuesdays

- 3:45- 3:55 P.M. "America in Transition" CBS  
9:15- 9:25 P.M. "From Mexico City" MBS  
9:30- 9:55 P.M. "Unlimited Horizons" NBC-Blue

### Wednesdays

- 2:15- 2:30 P.M. "Echoes of History" NBC-Blue  
7:30- 8:00 P.M. "Cavalcade of America" NBC-Red  
9:15- 9:25 P.M. "From London" MBS  
10:15-10:45 P.M. "Public Affairs" CBS

### Thursdays

- 12:05-12:15 P.M. "Conservation Reporter" MBS  
6:45- 7:00 P.M. "The World Today" CBS  
9:35-10:30 P.M. "America's Town Meeting of the Air" NBC-Blue  
9:15- 9:25 P.M. "From Berlin" MBS  
10:00-10:30 P.M. "Parade of the News" MBS  
10:30-11:00 P.M. "Musical Americana" NBC-Red

### Fridays

- 8:30- 9:00 P.M. "Information Please" NBC-Red  
11:15-11:30 P.M. "The Story Behind the Headlines" NBC-Red  
11:30-12:00 P.M. "Unlimited Horizons" NBC-Blue

### Saturdays

- 9:30-10:00 A.M. "Honest Abe" CBS  
12:00-12:25 P.M. "American Education Forum" NBC-Blue

- 12:45- 1:00 P.M. "Jobs in National Defense" CBS  
3:30- 4:00 P.M. "New World Diplomacy" MBS  
5:00- 5:50 P.M. "News of the Americas" CBS  
5:00- 5:30 P.M. "The World Is Yours" NBC-Red  
7:00- 7:30 P.M. "The People's Platform" CBS  
7:00- 7:30 P.M. "Defense for America" NBC-Red  
May 3, "Steel"; May 10, "Rubber";  
May 17, "Summary"

## Radio Notes

On March 29 the new frequency allocations of the Federal Communications Commission went into effect. The new assignments are intended to clear up crowded spots on the dial where stations overlap. By agreement the new rules will apply to all American nations, thus aiding reception from neighboring countries.

At a recent conference of the High School Teachers and High School Principals Associations, James Marshall, president of the New York City Board of Education, gave voice to a feeling of opposition to the use of the radio in the classroom. "I view with considerable misgivings," Mr. Marshall said, "the move to introduce radio into the classrooms as a medium of instruction as it holds great danger of propaganda. The vibrant voice over the radio has greater power for propaganda than newspapers, magazines or movies, which can be analyzed at leisure." Dr. James Rowland Angell, president-emeritus of Yale University and counselor for public service of the National Broadcasting Company, said in reply that the "only way to meet propaganda is to teach people to think for themselves and to use their judgment and not their emotions."

In this connection it may be of interest to note Dr. Angell's definition of education as applied to radio broadcasting:

Any program may be regarded as educational in purpose which attempts to increase knowledge, to stimulate thinking, to teach technique and methods, to cultivate discernment, appreciation and taste, to enrich character by sensitizing emotion and by inspiring socialized ideals that may issue in constructive conduct. Education is essentially the process by which individuals come to adjust themselves intelligently to life.

### Motion Picture Notes

According to figures collected by the United States Department of Commerce, the 15,115 motion picture theaters operating in the United States during 1939 grossed \$673,045,000. This is an increase of over \$164,000 over the 1935 receipts. The fact that more than 67 per cent of the amusement dollar is spent for movies indicates the potential strength of this social institution. Other figures gathered in the census show that receipts from commercial film rentals increased 10.4 per cent in the decade from 1929 to 1939. The total receipts from film rentals in 1939 was \$243,482,000.

Each month the Motion Picture Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, issues a bulletin of "Current Releases of Non-Theatrical Films." This bulletin reports developments in the field of non-theatrical films in the United States and foreign countries. This service is available at \$1.00 a year to any who are interested.

The DeVry Corporation, 1111 Armitage Avenue, Chicago, issues a bulletin called "Movie News" which will be sent without charge to those interested in 16-mm. materials. This company also issues a "Free Films Source Book" at 50 cents a copy.

Schools interested in adding sound to their school-made films should write to the Presto Recording Corporation, 242 West 55th Street, New York, for a copy of their booklet "How to Make Talking Pictures at Home." This booklet describes recording apparatus and explains how records may be synchronized with films.

The Bell and Howell Company, RCA Building, New York, will send free a booklet called "Films on the Faculty" which deals with training teachers to utilize films, how to choose films, developing new areas of instruction with the motion picture, selecting equipment, and the administration of a visual program.

The Association of Documentary Film Producers, 56 West 45th Street, New York, has issued "Living Films," a definitive catalog of the documentary films available in the United States today. It lists not only titles but lengths, descriptions of contents, and distributors. Price, 50 cents.

A very complete *Manual and Descriptive Catalogue of Slides and Films* has been re-

ceived from the State of Ohio, Department of Education, Division of Visual Instruction, Columbus. The first 38 pages of this catalog give "Answers to Questions Frequently Asked." In these pages brief and practical answers are given to such questions as "What causes poor sound?"; "Should a room be dark to show pictures?"; and "What kind of a screen is best to use?" The second part of the catalog describes the films available from the Ohio State Film Bureau, which serves most of the United States.

### Recent 16-mm. Releases

American Nature Association, 1214 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington.

A descriptive catalog lists forty-five one-reel, silent subjects on North American wildlife; one of the most complete available records of our wild animals. These films rent at \$1.00 a reel.

College Film Center, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago.

Distributes 25 films providing the first authentic moving-picture record of how British democracy is meeting total war. These films are divided into five groups showing *Britain at War*, *Production for Defense*, *International Relations*, *Life of the People*, and *Social Welfare*. The films are all 16-mm. sound and sell for \$15 a reel; rent for \$1.50 a reel.

Erpi Classroom Films Inc., 35-11 Thirty-fifth Avenue, Long Island City, New York.

Recent releases from Erpi Classroom Films include: *City Water Supply*, *Arteries of the City* (transportation facilities), *Theory of Flight*, and *Problems of Flight*. All are 16-mm., sound films which sell at \$50 a reel, subject to a 10 per cent educational discount. Many film libraries rent these films.

National Youth Administration, Federal Security Agency, 2145 C Street, N.W., Washington.

*Inauguration of President Roosevelt—1941*, a 22-minute, 16-mm., silent film; may be obtained free from your nearest State Administrator of the N.Y.A.

Tennessee Valley Authority, Information Office, Knoxville.

A new 16-mm. film, *TVA*, shows the prog-

ress made in seven years. Free. Borrower pays transportation costs.

Dodge, Chrysler Corporation, 7900 Joseph Campon, Detroit.

*Army on Wheels*, a 16-mm., sound film which requires thirty minutes running time; available on loan.

## Classroom Film Reviews

Title: *Yugoslavia*.

Producer: Eastman Teaching Films, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, New York.

Length: 1 reel (15 minutes running time).

Type: 16-mm., silent.

Grade-level suitability: upper elementary, junior high, high school.

Cost: Sale price \$25.00 (including teacher's handbook).

A general travel type of picture presenting a panoramic view of the country of Yugoslavia and its people. The film opens with closeups of natives, showing the type of people and their typical costumes. We then visit a farm home where members of the family are seen at work feeding the animals, drawing water, making bread, milking cows, making cheese, raising hogs, harvesting vegetables and flowers, spinning thread, and busying themselves with other farm activities. A school is then visited and one is impressed with the crowded condition of the classroom. The scene then shifts to Belgrade with its open-air markets, ancient buildings, and House of Parliament. The film closes with a note on the transportation facilities illustrated by the railroads.

*Fairly good* for a general introduction to Yugoslavia. The scenes in the country give a good picture of the everyday life of the peasant. One might question the authenticity of the scene in which the family moves its table into the outdoors to enjoy a meal in the open. This was probably the cameraman's idea rather than a typical scene in Yugoslavia. As is the case in so many travel-type motion pictures, there is a lack of continuity to the film and a need for general orientation shots to hold the film together.

Title: *Bulgaria*.

Producer: Eastman Teaching Films, Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester.

Length: 1 reel (15 minutes running time).

Type: 16-mm., silent.

Grade-level suitability: upper elementary, junior high, high school.

Cost: Sale price \$25.00 (including teacher's handbook).

Farm and city life in Bulgaria are shown in a general travel film. The film takes its audience first to the capital city, Sofia, where the airport and railroad facilities are shown. Then a series of scenes shows monuments, churches, street scenes, public buildings, and the market. The scene then shifts to the country, where primitive farm life is shown. The camera enters the home and typical household activities are seen. On the farm itself we see plowing with a crude plow pulled by oxen; then at harvest time the whole family works to gather in the grain. An interesting sequence on the making of cheese from sheep's milk follows. The film ends with a visit to a state-sponsored agricultural school.

*Good* for an understanding of agricultural Bulgaria. The city scenes are average, but the sequence on the life of the agricultural worker gives the student an insight into the life of Bulgaria's average man.

## Free and Inexpensive Materials

"Things to do," a booklet of ideas for art teachers, outlines twenty projects, many of which are applicable to the social studies. A copy of this booklet may be obtained by sending 10 cents to Devoe and Reynolds Company, Inc., attention Harry Lovett, 44th Street and 1st Avenue, New York.

A 32-page booklet on travel in the West complete with 63 natural-color pictures may be obtained at no cost from the Southern Pacific Railroad, 310 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

The E. M. Hale Company, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, are the publishers of a series of booklets called "Picture Scripts," edited and developed by staff members of the Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University. These are designed for the primary grades and cover thirty-one subjects from airplanes to Navahos. These picture books sell for 10 cents each or \$3.25 for thirty-one titles, postage paid.

The New Mexico Tourist Bureau, Room 730 State Capitol, Santa Fe, is again offering free a large colored picture map of the recreational opportunities that the state offers.

Write to your nearest Greyhound Bus In-



formation Office for a copy of their 20x30 inch picture map, "This Amazing America." Principal Greyhound offices are located in New York City, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, Detroit, Fort Worth, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Memphis, Charleston, Richmond, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Lexington. No street address is necessary.

The F. A. Owens Company, Dansville, New York, publisher of *The Instructor*, has prepared a set of ten "Good American" citizenship posters; printed on heavy colored paper and complete with text and teaching suggestions. The set of ten posters costs \$1.00.

A color picture map of Alabama may be obtained free from Alabama State Highway Department, Montgomery.

A picture map of Glacier National Park may be had at no cost by writing to the Great Northern Railway, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Educational Art Service, 80 West 40th Street, New York, has prepared 124 large, three-color posters and decorations on Americanism for the classroom. Enough material for a well-rounded classroom project costs \$1.00.

### Records

Five albums of records recently announced by the Educational Department of RCA-Victor, Camden, New Jersey, are of special interest to the social studies teacher. Album P-49, "Indian Music of the Southwest," is a series of authentic recordings of Apache, Navaho, Hopi, Pueblo, Zuni, Taos, Mohave, Pima, and Papago Indian tribes. This series of records retails at \$6.50. Album P-41, "American Folk Songs," is a series of songs by the American Ballad singers which sells for \$2.00. Album C-34, "Swing Your Partner," \$3.25, contains music and "calls" for square dances and quadrilles. Album G-28, "Musical Americana," \$3.50, contains recordings of more famous modern American songs such as "Rhapsody in Blue," "Porgy and Bess," and "When Day Is Done." Album M-628, "Bayou Ballads of the Louisiana Plantations," a series of songs of the deep South, sells for \$2.75.

The Commercial Radio-Sound Corporation, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, distributes a series of 12-inch recordings of the utterances of recent Presidents of the United States.

Pressed back to back a complete statement of a President is on each side of the records, which sell for \$2.50 each. The records available are "Liberty of People" by Theodore Roosevelt and "Peace" by William Howard Taft; "Democratic Principles" by Woodrow Wilson and "Address at Hoboken" by Warren G. Harding; and "Welcome to Colonel Lindbergh" by Calvin Coolidge and "Shall We Send our Youth to War?" by Herbert Hoover. These records may be played on a regular phonograph.

The Library of Congress Radio Research Project, begun on January 1, 1941, under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, is preparing three transcribed educational programs. The first, "Books and the News," is now ready. The second will be a series of American songs and folklore featuring John A. Lomax. The third series is semi-documentary and will reveal the nature of the idea of American unity.

*Scholastic Magazine* has just completed a series of three articles on the use of recordings in the classroom. The first, in the January 27 issue, dealt with the availability of recordings. The second article on the selection and use of recordings appeared on February 24. The last, summarizing developments in the field, appeared on March 31.

The United States Office of Education is now preparing a series of transcriptions suitable for use in the classroom dealing with Negro contributions to American life. Many of these programs will also be broadcast nationally.

### Slides

At the University of Buffalo is being gathered one of the most complete collections of slides of ancient and modern works of art. Working with a grant of \$23,000 contributed in March, 1939, by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the University has thus far amassed 10,000 slides and hopes, before the grant is exhausted, to have a total of 15,000 slides. One of the features of the collection is the unique cataloging system which has been developed. Each slide is indexed and cross-indexed, but to further facilitate the work of finding and selecting slides a miniature photograph of the slide appears on each of the index cards.

## History Pictures

The Photographic History Service, Box 2401, Hollywood, has for some years furnished teachers with units of stills from historic motion pictures. They now have available fourteen units of 8x10 inch mounted pictures dealing with the Pilgrims, American Revolution, Frontier Life, Westward Movement, Slave Life, Ancient Egyptian Life, Roman Life, Feudal Life, Vikings, Elizabethan England, French Revolution, American Desert Life, Russian Life, and David Copperfield. There are fifteen pictures in each unit which comes boxed complete with teacher's manual. The units sell for \$8.25 each. The same units may be obtained as standard 3¼x4 inch lantern slides at \$8.25 a unit of fifteen slides.

## Equipment for Audio-Visual Needs

The Spencer Lens Company of Buffalo, New York, recently announced an improved opaque projector which may be operated by a foot-pedal, thus leaving both hands free to manipulate the lesson material. It screens all types of flat pictures up to 6 x 6 inches.

An electrically-operated, magnetic-tape recorder for reproducing speech and other sounds is now being manufactured by the Western Electric Company, 195 Broadway, New York City. It can record radio programs, plays, and other material for classroom use.

A new microphone for school use has been developed by the RCA Manufacturing Company, Camden, New Jersey. A new "para-coustic" reflector baffle attachment makes it possible to change its directional characteristics at will. This microphone is especially suitable for auditoriums, stadiums, and other indoor and outdoor locations.

The Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, New York, recently announced a series of four new 16-mm., sound projectors for the classroom. A report on those machines will appear in an early issue of *Social Education*. In the meantime persons interested in these machines may write to Rochester for descriptive folders.

## Helpful Articles

Adams, Lucile. "Oklahoma History Pictured in Year-book," *School Arts*, XL:266, April, 1941. Using local history as a theme for the school annual, the art and history teachers at Tulsa guided their pupils in an

artistic expression of considerable merit. (This entire issue of *School Arts* is devoted to art projects on the West.)

Clark, Ruth M. "The Value of Excursions in the Activity Program," *American Childhood*, XXVI:17-18, April, 1941. An effective, well-told story of how one teacher developed an excursion program.

Crane, Arthur G. "Radio Builds Democracy," *Education By Radio*, II:23-25, First Quarter, 1941. How radio has made possible a revival of the town-meeting idea typical of early America.

Dale, Edgar. "Toward an Enlightened Patriotism," *The News Letter*, VI:1-4, March, 1941. A listing of the basic ideals in the democratic pattern together with pertinent motion pictures.

Ford, Richard R. "The Wartime Use of Motion Pictures in Britain," *Educational Screen*, X:113-15, March, 1941. A report on the development of the short film for purposes of keeping up British morale, educating the public, and documenting the war.

Lord, Francis E. "A Study of Spatial Orientation of Children," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXXIV:481-505, March, 1941. A report of studies to determine children's ability to orientate themselves in respect to their community and the world; concludes that children do not know how to tell directions and that better technique is needed.

Post, Muriel. "Educating for Patriotism," *Educational Screen*, XIX:102-104, March, 1941. School journeys to historic shrines aid patriotism when followed by appropriate activities.

Schneider, Etta. "Audio-Visual Aids for Rural Schools," *Curriculum Journal*, XII:166-68, April, 1941. Material available, criteria for selecting such material, and suggestions for use of audio-visual aids in the rural school situation.

Smith, Beatrice M. "Visual Aids for the Study of Types of Homes," *The Instructor*, L:27, 73, March, 1941. A seventh-grade study of homes enriched with activities which include scrapbooks, models, and ground-glass slides.

Stevens, Mary Paine. "Life in the Old Stone Age," *The Instructor*, L:39-49, March, 1941. An illustrated unit of work, with full-page illustrations, procedures, text, and activities. Reprints, 30 cents each from F. A. Owens Company, Dansville, New York.

Tyler, Ralph W. "Education in Defense of Democracy," *Educational Screen*, XIX:112-13, March, 1941. How visual materials may be utilized to develop attitudes. Emphasizes the need for enlargement of learning experiences and the consequent need for a wide variety of materials of learning.

Uger, Charles. "Excursions Need Direction," *School Executive*, LX:32-34, March, 1941, and continued in April, 1941. How to set up an excursion bureau, provide for guides, and correlate trips with the curriculum.

*Readers are invited to send items of interest for this department to Dr. Hartley at the editorial office, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York.*

# Book Reviews

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TEACHING OF HISTORY IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH APPLICATIONS TO ALLIED STUDIES, rev. ed. By Henry Johnson. New York: Macmillan, 1940. Pp. xv, 467. \$3.00.

To have a new edition of Henry Johnson's treatise on the teaching of history is an event of great importance to teachers of the social studies. Few textbooks in the field of education have had the influence of the 1915 edition of this book. Perhaps most teachers engaged in training social studies teachers today not only used the book in their student days, but have used it with their classes to a substantial degree ever since. The narrative in the older edition has taken on a rather dated appearance, and less and less use is made of it by classes of prospective teachers, but even at the present certain of its chapters are still used as required reading for student teachers. In a day when most textbooks are out of date after a few years of use, this is indeed a strong tribute to a book twenty-five years old.

The causes of this persistence in the use of the book are the same as those which make the present edition exceedingly valuable. The keen, logical analysis of every problem discussed, and the tendency to cut through the jungle of verbiage which surrounds so much of our educational discussion, gives it a clear and philosophic insight that is sadly lacking in most of our literature. The student can not help being impressed that the author is one teacher who practices what he teaches. He believes in the value of the historical approach as a means of mastering a field of knowledge, and he believes in the value of the historical method as a means of acquiring knowledge. Both of these are clearly evident in the revised version, and they give it a quality that is unmistakably from a scholar who is a complete master of the tools of his trade.

The wide range of the author's knowledge of the history of the teaching of social studies is evident in every paragraph, and he is able to clarify our present condition by a perspective that is immensely useful in trying to un-

derstand where we are now and where we are heading. His knowledge of comparative education in the field of the social studies is as broad as his historical perspective is deep, and this adds immeasurably to the value of the presentation. All of the new book is infused with a subtle, wry humor that those who know Henry Johnson will recognize as an essential part of the personality of a truly great teacher. "We deal in summary notions, in abstractions, in figures of speech, sometimes unconsciously, more often under the delusion that short headings of short chapters made of short sentences of short words shorten the difficulties of historical instruction." "Many of those who are now casting stones at facts not in themselves directly related to the present would find, if they took the trouble to look, a considerable display of glass in the facing of their own houses."

The changes in the revised edition are principally found in the attempt to meet the more recent trends in the field and to set these into the framework of Johnson's philosophy of social studies teaching. While there are some who will say that the author conceives of social studies too narrowly, as he writes history many more times than he does social studies, such as do are led into error simply because they do not understand his concept of history. Clearly the history that he thinks and writes about is a history that is as broad as the term social studies—indeed, broader than the customary usage of that term. "History," he writes, "may indeed be regarded as the only field in which all of the social sciences meet. History, with or without the name, is certainly the background for all fusion or integrated courses in the social studies and may be regarded as the only field in which all of the social studies meet." "History, in its broadest sense, is everything that ever happened."

There are two new chapters; an excellent one on teaching chronology that has useful suggestions for drill, and one on current events. Perhaps the last will be most interesting to those who know well the older edition. While they may have felt before that the



author was unsympathetic with this aspect of social studies teaching, one may doubt that they will be disappointed in what Henry Johnson has written here. As in so many other cases, he begins with a fundamental but usually overlooked truth that current events are history, the only distinguishable feature being that they are too recent to be recorded in textbooks. Likewise, his emphasis on the purpose in teaching current events as being primarily to train pupils in the historical method of gaining knowledge about very recent history, is badly needed here where the teaching of unrelated facts reaches an all-time high.

The new chapter on the examination, with its stimulating examples, is one of the most interesting in the book. The sixty-nine page bibliography, described as "a guide to fuller bibliographies," is useful, and especially rich in citations from European sources.

Nowhere does the book degenerate into a compilation of information, but always it maintains a wholesome breadth of view and sense of practicality. It is a great book by a great master of social studies teaching, a fitting climax to a distinguished career.

ELMER ELLIS

University of Missouri

THE AMERICAN NATION: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1865 TO THE PRESENT. By John D. Hicks. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941. Pp. xviii, 734, liv. \$3.50.

This worthy sequel to Professor Hicks' earlier book, *The Federal Union*, completes a two-volume college textbook on the history of the United States. The allotment of space to chronological periods is approximately what has recently come to be the conventional one: the story begins with reconstruction after the Civil War and ends with the election of 1940, and, when one is just half way through, the Spanish-American War is over and Theodore Roosevelt has held the center of the stage for fifteen pages. As to the relative emphasis on various kinds of history, the author protests in his preface against "those pedagogic faddists who insist that political history should be stripped of its garments and consigned bare and meaningless to occasional lean chapters of names and dates. . . . If the young people of our colleges are ever made to believe that

the political life of their nation is unimportant, then our democracy will be in a sorry way indeed" (p. v). He has by no means, however, written a strictly political history. Using somewhat more space than most recent texts covering the same period, he has combined a rather full political narrative with an adequate treatment of economic and social factors, sometimes in separate chapters and sometimes in connection with political events. For the most part he has followed the sound practice of telling more about less rather than less about more, which adds to both the intelligibility and the interest of the story.

Among the many strong points of the book are the sure touch with which Professor Hicks, an authority on Populism and kindred Western developments, handles agricultural problems, and occasional illuminating interpretive comments on such subjects as the relation of *laissez-faire* individualism to the economic reconstruction of the South after the Civil War or comparisons between Jeffersonian and Wilsonian democracy. The analysis of the reasons why the United States entered the war in 1917 seems to this reviewer to be especially well-balanced and judicious. The account of the forces operating on the party situation in 1924 makes the drab election of that year positively interesting.

There are certain omissions in emphasis or interpretation that might well have been included. The continuity in policies in the series of progressive movements that included Populism, Bryan, LaFollette, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt is not brought out either by arrangement or by comment. The movement within the Republican party before the Spanish-American War that was designated years ago by both C. A. Beard and F. L. Paxson as the Republican "counter-reformation" is scarcely touched upon. The treatments of Greenback inflation and of free silver are much better than the expositions of some of the more recent financial developments; the need for an elastic currency and for a pooling of bank reserves by the time when the Federal Reserve System was set up are not sufficiently explained. There is sometimes less sureness of touch in the handling of labor problems, especially some of the more recent ones, than in the discussion of agrarian developments. More than seven pages are de-

voted to New Deal measures to aid the farmers; but the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Board, the split between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., and the sit-down strikes, are all disposed of in a total of not more than two pages. This is hardly proportionate to the relative importance of the subjects.

The style is in the main direct, interesting, and unpretentious. There are occasional rough spots and slips in proof-reading. There are a number of minor errors, most of them inconsequential so far as the validity of the narrative or the conclusions are concerned. The Peabody Normal College at Nashville is mentioned in a paragraph on Negro education as if it were a Negro institution. At the time of the Pullman strike of 1894 there were not 10,000 "regulars" in Chicago by July 4; after considerable later reinforcement the number was less than 2,000.

Instead of formal bibliographies at the ends of chapters or elsewhere, the suggestions for reading are placed in footnotes, with a list of all books cited at the end of the volume. This connects the reading references more directly with the text, but makes systematic study of the bibliography of each principal topic more difficult. One of the disadvantages of this method is illustrated by the fact that such important series as the *The American Nation*, *The Chronicles of America*, and the *History of American Life* are nowhere mentioned, although individual volumes are cited. The references are limited almost entirely to books; articles in magazines or reviews (which can not be located in library catalogs) are neglected.

The book is attractive in format and is well-supplied with illustrations and maps. The plate showing the evolution of barbed wire would be more useful if there were some account of the invention of barbed wire in the text.

DONALD L. McMURRY

Russell Sage College

AMERICAN HISTORY TO 1865. By George M. Stephenson. New York: Harper, 1940. Pp. x, 698. \$3.50.

Dr. Stephenson's *American History to 1865*, the companion volume to his *American His-*

*tory Since 1865*, adds another to the growing list of comprehensive two-volume American histories designed for college survey courses and further expands the Harpers' Historical Series of which it is a part.

For the most part the treatment is conventional, with little to distinguish it in either facts presented or interpretation from earlier works designed for the same purpose. Among other evidences of this characteristic is the complete neglect of the American Revolution as a social movement. Those who subscribe to the thesis offered by C. M. Andrews in his *England's Commercial and Colonial Policy* will also resent the implication that the mercantile system was a primary cause of colonial disaffection.

The chief and an extremely notable exception to the conventional treatment is the manner in and the extent to which the later social and religious phases of American development, particularly in the West, are dealt with. Dr. Stephenson does a masterful piece of work when he discusses the forces impelling Europeans to migrate to America and the problems facing them after their arrival, population composition and movements, religious developments, the factors producing a democratic society, and related subjects. Much of his information is drawn from source accounts not commonly used by others in this field—for example, the "American Letters" of immigrants from which direct quotations are often made. In this connection secondary school teachers will find especially valuable for collateral reference purposes the chapters entitled "Democracy in the Making," "The Immigrant Invasion," and "The Spiritual Life." Style, structure, and vocabulary should prove no deterrent to placing it on high school shelves. It is unusually readable.

To include so much material of the nature just discussed, the author was evidently obliged to make omissions—omissions which may seem rather serious to some; for example, no consideration is given to the economic basis of colonial life other than the usual discussion of the mercantile system. It is not the intent, however, to imply that the text is poorly balanced, for that would be an unwarranted criticism. In numerous places space is conserved by the deletion of unnecessary detail and by the author's ability to state an issue concisely.

The prospective adopter of *American History to 1865* should note several features which although minor may prove decisive: the use of a large number of chapters—there are forty-one in all—should facilitate the making of assignments, though not at a sacrifice of continuity; the use of maps drawn from the American Nation Series, which are of proven worth; and the inclusion of an extensive and annotated bibliography.

HARRY D. BERG

University of New Hampshire

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THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. By Louis M. Hacker. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940. Pp. x, 460. \$3.00.

It may as well be said at once that this book is not prescribed as a nightcap for tired teachers or as one to be read aloud of a winter's evening. It is too rough going for almost all high school students; but I recommend it as a first-class spring tonic for all who want the "iron" of keen analysis and new theory injected into their minds. The ideas set forth should become a part of the thinking of all teachers of United States history. The reader will see many events in a new and revealing light, for example, the Revolution, the Westward Migrations, The Civil War, and The Reconstruction Effort.

From first to last Hacker takes his stand on the ground that "The doctrine of Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples has been an attractive but only partial explanation" (p. 3) of our history. He divides his essay into three parts: European Antecedents, The Victory of American Mercantile Capitalism in the Revolution, and The Victory of American Industrial Capitalism in the Civil War. His final chapter asks, Was American Capitalism a Success? and answers: Yes, because it gave us abundance and cemented into our national consciousness the idea of egalitarianism. These two together will give us the potency to withstand the onslaughts of physical might.

This reviewer has neither the talent nor the space to give Hacker's data and theories the microscopic analysis which they merit. By a close examination of the economic forces at play in the United States he explains the large historic movements prior to 1900. The

result is so convincing that one is forced to revise at many points one's notions about our national development. Let me cull a few interesting points at random.

The people who migrated westward were, for the most part, independent agriculturists; and they went "when good prices put cash in their pockets," not "when the pinch of hard times" (p. 221) afflicted them.

It was not scarcity of land which squeezed the southern planter prior to the Civil War. He was bound hand and foot to the rigidity of his plantation system and so "committed—and doomed—to commercial and extensive agriculture because that was really the only thing . . . his slave gang was fitted for" (p. 280).

To insure their triumph after the Civil War, the New Radicals drove a wedge between the poor white and the Negro by stirring up a fear of the latter in the hearts of the former. Thus divided the poor white and the Negro were at the mercy of the Bourbons and the industrial and financial powers of the North. Perhaps "study would show that the [Ku Klux] Klan was the dupe of the southern middle class seeking the recapture of political and economic power" (p. 381).

The reader will not go far in this book before he observes serious faults. First of all, the style is generally poor and often clumsy. It would have been better to have omitted some of the quotations. Then, one thirsts for a few drops of wit and humor and wonders whether economic history is a desert with ne'er an oasis.

Mr. Hacker is a teacher of economic history at Columbia University. Many teachers know two earlier books of which he was co-author, *The United States Since 1865* (with B. B. Kendrick) and *The United States: A Graphic History*. His reputation for clear analysis is well established.

E. LEWIS B. CURTIS

State Normal School  
Oneonta, New York

●

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE: A HISTORY. By Harold Underwood Faulkner, Tyler Kepner, and Hall Bartlett. New York: Harper, 1941. Pp. xviii, 738. \$2.20.



This textbook will not appeal to those who would relegate the social studies to a position of innocuous isolation from the realities of our age. Neither will it find favor among those teachers who would impress upon the content of an American History course the same organization, no matter how often it be repeated within the curriculum.

Of course, the authors of other recent texts, such as Barker, Dodd, and Commager, *Our Nation's Development*, and Wirth, *The Development of America*, have built up a unitary treatment of problems considered in the light of present-day implications within the limits of a structure readily recognizable as American history. However, *The American Way of Life* goes a great deal farther in sloughing off the accoutrements of the traditional organization and in the selection of "functional" materials.

The teacher or the student in first contact with this book might well ask, "What is it, and what do we do with it?"

It is not American history as it is generally taught or as most people know it. Obviously, the authors are little concerned about that, nor is the reader likely to be if such unit titles as these appear to possess vitality and functional value: "America, Blessed by Nature, Becomes the Crossroads of the World's Peoples," "America Follows the Agricultural Way of Life," "The American Worker Struggles for a Square Deal," "America Avoids Alliances but Becomes a Leader in World Affairs."

The attempt to be meaningful through vocabulary adjustment seems to promise success. Unit II, "America Chooses a Democratic Government," makes good, clear reading of a section of material too often a nightmare to hitsory classes.

These authors do a number of things that this reviewer likes. They start right out by working for an understanding of the peoples that make up America. They combat prejudice not only indirectly but by correcting widespread erroneous notions, thus: "Concern over the 'new immigration' was probably greater than need be. As a matter of fact, the new immigrant found his way in America almost as readily as the older immigrant" (p. 18). The civil rights are not only cataloged, but a living concept of liberty is set forth. Through-

out the volume such terms as "the general welfare," "the dream of a fuller life," "the agricultural way of life," "the industrial giant," "corrupt forces," "the better things of life" are related to a central theme, the elaboration of the democratic ideals and the progress and reverses in the record of one nation's attempt to practice that ideal.

Since the undertaking was tremendous a few parts of the work are rough-hewn. Like many writers in the social studies field, these have taken a bit too much of the world for their oyster. A cultural emphasis on American history is scarcely misplaced; yet a mere listing of a few artists, musicians, architects, and magazines does a good deal less than nothing to foster cultural values. Too few teachers are capable of elaborating on these culture capsules. It appears that the solution lies more properly in the hands of intelligent teachers of American literature who through the development of a broader acquaintance with the cultural aspects of American civilization produce the perfect complement to the social and economic approach to history.

Even though the language of the text is designed for an average high school student, the authors are quite consistent in refusing to indulge in superficial or unbalanced analysis. One instance of irresponsibility might, however, be cited. To conclude a discussion of "pressure groups," the writers use, without notation of source or further comment, a quotation in this form: "We are told that 'two radio chains, five motion picture companies, three news agencies, and a dozen strings of newspapers control what the American public hears, sees, and reads'" (p. 673). The social studies must observe, evaluate, and teach such phenomena of our civilization, but in so doing must be most scrupulous in avoiding techniques of instruction which smack of indoctrination of the worst sort. In complete integrity of purpose and method lies our best answer to hostile critics.

This book points to a course that might well serve as the culmination of the social studies program in the high school. The courageous and imaginative teacher will find it highly challenging.

RYLAND W. CRARY

University High School  
State University of Iowa

**EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.** By John T. Greenan and Albert B. Meredith. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940. Pp. xxxii, 570. \$1.80.

A textbook which has undergone the number of revisions credited to this one certainly deserves attention. One becoming acquainted with *Everyday Problems of American Democracy* for the first time in its present revision is immediately impressed by its attractive format and arrangement. Those who knew it in its earlier editions will be glad to know that the basic conception, objectives, and organization remain the same in the 1940 revision, and that the value of the book has been enhanced not only by a more attractive appearance but by added devices for motivation and learning.

Intended specifically as a textbook for the popular twelfth-grade course, *Problems of American Democracy*, this volume presents both "concrete problems of vital importance to society" and, what is perhaps more important, does so in a true problem-study fashion.

The stage is set for scientific thinking about the problems by the first two chapters, in which the values of democracy and the effects of propaganda are discussed. This second chapter serves not only an introductory purpose but also constitutes the background for the first of twenty-eight specific problems, "Do We Need Censorship of Speech and Press?" With the exception of a brief concluding chapter which is inspirational in nature, the remainder of this well-packed volume is devoted to the careful statement and development of similarly appealing problems.

It is interesting, in comparing the present revision with previous editions, to note that most of the areas of study are the same but that many of the problems are either stated more directly and simply or are concerned with more up-to-date issues. A few of the statements are broadened in scope and some of the problems have been reclassified among the three headings—political, social, and economic—into which the book is divided.

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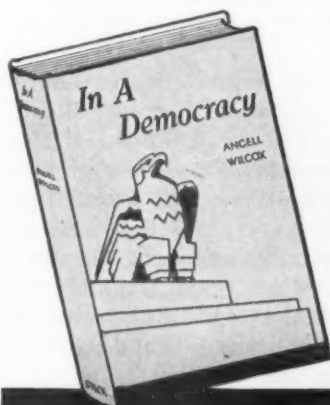
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Not all of the issues presented by the authors are stated in terms of genuinely social or unsolved problems. Several approach in their statement the research type of problem, or appear to be concerned with questions of values rather than with actual social situations. In the thinking of some teachers this is unfortunate because problems so stated lose some of their appeal to the student, in that they fail to provide an opportunity in which he can act directly and definitely. But in no case have the authors failed to demonstrate the importance of their problems by examples from real life situations. By means of historical backgrounds, current illustrations, and the discussion of fundamental principles the problems are clearly set and stated, and then the arguments on two sides, sure to be found in every question, are presented in well-marked sections of the chapter. Definite conclusions are suggested where possible, and in instances where such statements are scientifically indefensible the authors attempt to bring about some generalization of practical value.

Harmonizing with the basic organization of this textbook one finds a number of features which make it singularly useful and convenient as a guide for developing problem-study techniques and as a source of information for a wide range of social problems. The volume is well worth the expenditure of an entire year upon its content and suggested activities, but teachers who have only a semester for a problems course will find it useful too. Indeed, it may be employed as a guidebook even for a course in which the problems to be studied are chosen independently of any one text. Clearly marked and well developed topical headings, short paragraphs, tabular listings, cross-references, and a very complete index make the book an excellent instrument of reference.

But students and teachers using *Everyday Problems of American Democracy* for reference alone will not want to ignore its valuable learning aids. A section designed especially for the teacher is one illustrating specifically how selected portions of the text may be taught by various general methods, and in the 1940 revision these pages present more concretely and in current terminology a more flexible program of study and teaching than

is suggested in earlier editions. Many and varied enriching experiences, other than those suggested by readings, are provided under "Things to Do." A wide range of pictorial illustrations add no little bit to the value of the present edition.

K. B. THURSTON

University School  
Indiana University

ADVENTURING FOR DEMOCRACY. By Wilbur C. Phillips. New York: Social Unit Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 380. \$3.00 (cloth), \$1.50 (paper).

Democracy, it is commonly alleged, is long on idealism and short on efficiency. Especially in these dark days, when the principles as well as the practices of popular rule are under heavy attack, there are among us many who publicly extol democracy as a way of living while privately doubting whether we can ever solve our threatening social and economic problems through genuinely democratic procedures. For all such doubters, and they are more numerous than we may like to admit, this is a *must* book. In a very real sense, Phillips' *Adventuring for Democracy* is to the domestic sphere what Streit's *Union Now* is to the international area: a proposed new pattern of social union whereby popular control can be integrated with genuine efficiency in planning and in management. It is a challenging answer to social defeatism, an exciting analysis of democratic efficiency in practical action, a promising outline of how Americans may preserve democracy by making it work at home. No wonder John Dewey has written that "I know of no idea or plan of greater promise for a right development of our social-economic conditions here in America than the Social Unit Plan" presented by Mr. and Mrs. Phillips.

This book is an autobiography—not so much of a pioneering social inventor and his equally competent wife as of the Social Unit idea which they have developed through years of practical experience with its actual functioning in New York City, in Milwaukee, and in Cincinnati. Basically analyzed, the Social Unit Plan provides an organizational technique for the gradual extension of democratic processes from the political into the economic areas of American life.



Implicit in this bold analysis lies the liberal's desperate dilemma: recognizing the menace inherent in a simultaneous continuation of political democracy and economic oligarchy, and realizing that efficiency in government as in business requires centralization of administrative authority, the typical liberal in politics finds himself urging ever-wider extension and concentration of governmental powers while at the same time he rightly fears that a totalitarian society may emerge in consequence thereof. To all who are concerned with this apparently forced choice between democracy and efficiency in the economic realm, the Social Union Plan will doubtless have instant appeal. It will appeal because it proposes a practical method—perhaps the only practical method—whereby lay citizens and skilled experts may be brought together in a joint study of their common economic needs as the prime basis for the development of co-operative plans to meet those needs.

More specifically, the Plan provides for *integrated political and economic organization* through the development of a more functional

two-House system of democratically chosen representative groups: (1) the House of Representatives, or Citizens' Council, elected by geographic areas to promote the common interests of all the people as consumers, and (2) the House of Skill, or Occupational Council, chosen by occupational groups to represent openly their special interests as producers. Such a plan was tried in limited degree in Cincinnati, where plain ordinary people organized themselves by small geographic units and occupational groups, and proved in practice their ability to meet pressing economic needs and meet them well. In the living laboratory of that great city, technical efficiency and popular control were successfully integrated under the Social Union Plan devised and promoted by Mr. and Mrs. Phillips. And because this plan makes possible the functional coordination of decentralized, autonomous politico-economic units, it solves the liberal's dilemma by demonstrating in practice how administrative efficiency may be developed while intelligent popular control is maintained through local organization.

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EDWARD G. OLSEN

Colgate University

**TEN COMMUNITIES.** By Paul R. Hanna, I. James Quillen, and Gladys L. Potter. Chicago: Scott Foresman, 1940. Pp. 512. \$1.16.

Since the general acceptance of the idea that learning is a process of interaction between a child and his environment, teachers have made an earnest effort to present instructional material to children in terms of its relation to their daily living. In the social studies field particularly, we have endeavored so to organize material that children may study people operating in a physical environment in which the consequences of social ideas, aspirations and deeds are clearly evident. The authors of *Ten Communities* have achieved this purpose with remarkable success.

This book contains the stories of the development of ten type communities functioning in the United States. There is the settlement and restoration of Williamsburg; the development of Atlanta as a railroad center; the growth and decay of Brazoria; the development of Waterloo as the center of a great farming community. These few illustrations show the diversity of the communities selected. Each is a fascinating story in itself. The authors show with great skill the inter-relationships of the manifold factors which make up a community. Moreover, they have done this with such simplicity that elementary school children will be able to sense something of the complexity of life without becoming confused by it. Although the story of each community is necessarily unique, their similarity has been emphasized. The desire of people to make homes where they may "live, work, and play" is dominant. The courage of the pioneer in breaking with the past and proceeding into

new and untried ways is always present. The treatment of the material is realistic.

The very richness of the material requires a clear understanding on the part of the teachers if the primary objectives of the book are to be achieved. These objectives, as stated by the authors in a "Chapter for Teachers," are: "(1) to broaden the community concept as it has been presented in earlier books of this series; (2) to show, by example, how life in the United States has changed from a pioneering to a technological culture; (3) to provide a spring board and guide to a study of the local community." In this chapter the authors have explained, at length, the educative significance of their material and made definite suggestions for other learning experiences which should grow out of the use of this book. Moreover there is an introductory chapter for children and a most helpful summary and question section at the end of each chapter. The maps, pictures, and legends are designed to teach definite concepts. New and interesting techniques have been used. I trust the children will find them as instructive as I did.

In the "Easy Chair" of *Harper's Magazine* for March, Bernard DeVoto discusses the excellence of some modern books for children and suggests that adults may clear up some hitherto obscure phenomena by reading them. He bemoans the fact that there is no good history of the United States for ten-year-olds. Mr. DeVoto is facetious for the most part, but he recognizes the need of a great many Americans for a simple understanding of some of the main facts of our past. In all seriousness, I recommend *Ten Communities* to adults as an introduction to the study of historical, geographical, and cultural heritage of the United States.

FAY ROGERS

Tuttle School  
Minneapolis

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## VITAL SPEECHES

35 W. 42nd St., New York

**THE CURRICULUM OF MODERN EDUCATION.** By Franklin Bobbitt. New York: McGraw Hill, 1941. Pp. xii, 419. \$2.75.

Let us begin where Professor Bobbitt does. "The theme of the book is a very simple one: The good life is the thing that is to be learned, and the pupils learn it by living it. Families, schools, and the general society provide the necessary conditions." From this point in the foreword through the last chapter on the guiding vision, the reader of this excellent treatise has presented to him in positive words of hope and action a concept of the good life and the curriculum needed. The book is refreshing. It should serve to strengthen the faith and the courage of all who seek to attack educational problems. Individuals and school faculties would do well to study carefully the challenging statements concerning the role of education and, as a result, think more than twice about their own objectives and procedures.

The first chapter sets the pace. In the beginning Professor Bobbitt describes the "good life," presents sixteen areas of general human

living and two specialized areas, and discusses the primacy of the intellect in living. Basic education, which the family provides, is distinguished from contributory education provided by the school. Sixteen "labors" of contributory education are listed and the author makes a plea for men of vision who will aim high in things that are educational. Well does he need to, for the "labors" of the school are exacting and complete. Once engaged with them and concerned with the areas of the good life as described (with educational implications), school people will "let the dead past bury its dead" and go forward to a true education that is life in the "Great Cooperative Enterprise" or Professor Bobbitt's social organization. No social problem is too small or too large, and no individual should fail to feel the vital force of this intellectual vision of an active education for centralized society.

We must realize that all will not agree with the description of the good life or with the curricular proposals. However, if this book is read without emotion, without a realization

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that here is a program concerned with boys and girls and their development and not with subjects, there is something dead with the educational vision of the reader. A full grasp of the program implied and the possibilities presented should make dynamic all educational purposes of the individual or group that accepts these views. To accomplish the "labors of contributory education," to carry out this implied program, considering the entrenched position of present day public-schools-subject education, one would have the fight of one's life on one's hands. The rewards are worth the tasks, contends Professor Bobbitt, for "the way of any permanent success in this world has always been the hard way."

The direction is given. Will anyone be stimulated to action? Or will this theory of the curriculum go into the pot with those that have gone before—to be discussed as "visionary"? (The author anticipated this and condemns in advance.) Will there ever be a time when a school or a number of schools will assume the spirit and the "labors of contributory education"—and develop, over a period of five years, a curriculum-in-action by, with, and for boys and girls—free from tradition, adverse public opinion, financial handicaps, and selfish, conflicting educational points of views and their supporters?

H. E. NUTTER

Florida Curriculum Laboratory  
University of Florida

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR EXPERIENCED TEACHERS: THE PROGRAM OF THE SUMMER WORKSHOP. By Kenneth L. Heaton, William G. Camp, and Paul B. Diederich. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940. Pp. x, 142. \$1.25.

The first part of this book is a painstaking and detailed account of the history, techniques, and procedures of a new movement in education. The closing chapters give the reader an inspiring picture of the significant changes which the workshop may be expected to effect in the coming years. The study covers the five years since the movement's inception, and presents in outline form such aspects as the essential characteristics of the program, organization, administration, the effectiveness of workshops, and the significance of the movement.

Details regarding the selection of staff and participants, materials and equipment, and opportunities for social contact, are adequately treated. A broad concept of the workshop as a leaven working to bring about more classroom practice of those democratic procedures to which we have so long rendered lip service and actually employed so little, is here presented.

The authors have had wide experience in the field they discuss. Mr. Heaton is Director of the Bureau of Curriculum and Guidance in the Michigan State Department of Public Instruction. Mr. Diederich and Mr. Camp were responsible for gathering the valuable data in chapter four. In addition, members of the Committee on Workshops of the Progressive Education Association, various staff members, and participants in workshops, have assisted in the preparation of the manuscript.

An especially valuable chapter is the one entitled "The Effectiveness of Workshops," in which are presented and summarized extensive data gathered in a follow-up study of former participants in the schools of eight cities during 1939. The authors disarm criticism by taking for granted the fact that participants in workshops are, by and large, outstanding teachers from outstanding schools who might have been expected to inaugurate on their own initiative many of the progressive features which the investigators found. Over and above this initial assumption the authors find, and here present, proof which must be convincing to all but the most skeptical that an overwhelming proportion of teachers attending workshops have made specific use of materials as well as of attitudes gained.

A particularly consoling feature of the book is its section entitled "'Confusion' of the First Week" which points out difficulties inherent in the situation, and cites examples of how these difficulties have been obviated in particular instances. All in all the book constitutes a useful handbook on a subject about which we may have many scattered articles but no comprehensive data. For the new staff member and the new participant in the summer workshop, it will answer the obvious questions which arise.

ANNA B. PECK

University High School  
University of Kentucky

**JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP.** By Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1940. Pp. viii, 330. \$2.50.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck have studied criminals and delinquents extensively, and have written *500 Criminal Careers*, *Later Criminal Careers*, *500 Delinquent Women*, and *1000 Juvenile Delinquents*. In *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up* they analyze the personal traits and environments of the same 1000 juvenile offenders, who have now reached the average age of twenty-nine years, over an additional ten-year period.

They investigated the birthplace and religion of the delinquents' parents, the socioeconomic status of his family, family relationship, and delinquency and mental abnormalities in his family. They also considered the offender's schooling, his use of leisure time,

his early anti-social behavior, his employment as well as his mental and physical condition.

They compared the background and behavior of each during various methods of correction, such as "straight probation" or probation under suspended sentence, inside or outside of institutions, in correctional schools, reformatories, jails or prisons, or at large on parole. From this information the Gluecks developed tables of prediction of behavior during specific forms of treatment and at various degrees of maturity.

The book is excellent for college level, but is too impersonal and too detailed for the average high school student. However, as a reference work for certain high school students working on a project on some phase of crime, it is admirable source material.

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